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LAFCADIO HEARN: INTERPRETER OF JAPAN

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IN A RECENT BIBLIOGRAPHY of books on Japan Lafcadio Hearn is described as "a famous writer . . . who, more than anyone else, is responsible for the traditional romantic view of Japan."¹ Nearly two decades of Japanese military aggression in China and the Pacific have destroyed the romantic picture of the quaint, child-like Japanese, which has been superseded by the equally false view of the Japanese as subhuman barbarians. The labeling of Hearn's writings as "romantic" nullifies their value for the postwar reader, so that those who seek an accurate account of the development of modern Japan may be deterred from consulting Hearn's books on Japan. But, while it is true that Hearn sentimentalized and misrepresented certain aspects of Japanese culture, his works as a whole present a detailed and informative picture of Japan during the latter part of the Meiji Era. Hearn's colorful career, the history of an erratic and impulsive personality, has imparted an aura of romance to his writings on Japan, but he was not a mere rhapsodist over things Japanese. His love for Japan did not prevent him from being a clear-sighted reporter of Japanese customs, and, on occasion, a capable analyst of Japanese culture.

It is unjust and misleading to view Hearn as a mere fabricator of exotic tales. One of his contemporaries, Basil Hall Chamberlain, Professor of Japanese Philology at Tokyo Imperial University, commended Hearn for his "scientific accuracy" as well as for his "brilliance of style."² Even Japanese writers who have attacked the romantic view of Japan do not dismiss Hearn's work as completely invalid, although they believe that his picture of Japanese life is misleading.³ At the present time, despite the discrediting of the romantic view during World War II, Hearn's final and most com-

¹ Hugh Borton, Serge Eliséeff, Edwin O. Reischauer, *Books and Articles on Japan* (Washington, D. C., 1940), p. 56.

² Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (London, 1905), p. 65.

³ See Komakichi Nohara, *The True Face of Japan* (London, 1936), p. 13, and Hakucho Masamune, "New Light on Lafcadio Hearn," *Contemporary Japan*, II, 278 (Sept., 1933).

prehensive book, *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation* (1904), has been used as a reference in two postwar studies of Japan.⁴

Before writing *Japan*, however, Hearn had published ten books on his adopted country. His last work was the product of a deep understanding rooted in the experience of fourteen years of residence in Japan, and the development of that understanding is reflected in his earlier works. Although these works are biased by Hearn's emotional prejudices and pet philosophical theories, much valuable information can be gained from them; it would be unwise to consider them "romantic" and therefore completely false. This paper will attempt to survey these books and roughly define the limits of their accuracy as studies of Japanese civilization.

Hearn's books were written between 1890 and 1904. During this period the success of Japanese military power in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars raised Japan to the status of a world power. Because Hearn witnessed the development of Japanese power, his writings display an increasing interest in political and social problems. His last book, *Japan*, contrasts significantly with his first, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (1894), in subject and attitude. The *Glimpses* are impressionistic travel sketches; *Japan* is a dispassionate and clear-sighted study of the dangers inherent in the social and political structure of Japan.

Hearn's writings cover an enormous range of subjects, from studies of Japanese insects to an analysis of the Japanese industrial system. These essays were usually written for publication in American periodicals; each book is therefore a collection of separate articles on specific topics. Despite the multiplicity of subjects, however, there are certain basic attitudes and ideas in his work which constantly recur, and these color his observations of Japanese life.

First, Hearn was not an unbiased judge of the relative values of Japanese and Western civilizations. He was always a champion of Japan against the West, even when his disillusionment had reached the point where he could write to a friend: "*I hate and detest the Japanese. . . . I fear the missionaries are right who declare them without honor, without gratitude, and without brains.*"⁵ When his

⁴ See Douglas G. Haring, ed., *Japan's Prospect* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), p. 421, and Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (Boston, 1946), p. 303.

⁵ Elizabeth Bisland, "The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn," *Atlantic Monthly*, CV,

first enthusiasm had vanished, he transferred his approbation to feudal Japan, and, like Miniver Cheevy, mourned that he had been born too late. He blamed the unpleasant elements of modern Japanese society on the corrupting influence of Western civilization, and so absolved traditional Japanese culture.

I cannot like the new Japan. I dislike the officials, the imitation of foreign ways, the airs, the conceits, the contempt for Tempo, etc. Now to my poor mind, all that was good and noble and true was Old Japan: I wish I could fly out of Meiji forever, back against the stream of Time, into Tempo, or into the age of the Mikado Yūriaku,—fourteen hundred years ago.⁶

Second, Hearn's attempt to establish the parallelism of the philosophical background of modern science and the doctrines of Oriental religions is closely connected with his belief in the superiority of Japanese culture. Hearn had studied Oriental religions before he came to Japan, and had come to the conclusion that Buddhist metaphysics were similar to the metaphysics of Herbert Spencer. That correspondence was sufficient proof to him that Buddhism was the only faith that could be reconciled with science, since he believed implicitly in the scientific accuracy of Spencer's *Synthetic Philosophy*. In all his writings Hearn refers to Spencer with the greatest respect and admiration, using such phrases as "the wisest man in the world."⁷ Hearn's theory is summed up in one of the lectures which he delivered at Tokyo Imperial University:

The contest was between the two interopposed religious ideas of East and West—only now the Eastern thought had entered Europe clad in scientific armour from head to foot, and not as the champion of any creed, but only of truth. Western religion declared, "All things were made, just as they are, by the hand of God—worlds, men, animals, trees." Science answered, "There is no evidence for any such belief. On the contrary I find that all life is one, and that all forms have been slowly

213 (Feb., 1910). This quotation from a letter to Professor Chamberlain dated Nov. 3, 1894, is omitted in Miss Bisland's volume, *The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn* (Boston and New York, 1910).

⁶ Elizabeth Bisland, *The Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn* (Boston and New York, 1906), II, 154. As Hakucho Masamune points out, "Not even the most ardent of our reactionaries ever supposed that old Japan was so idyllic or that the effect of Westernization was so disastrous as Hearn strove to make his readers believe" ("New Light on Lafcadio Hearn," *loc. cit.*, p. 271).

⁷ Hearn, *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation* (New York, 1904), p. 511.

shaped, through immeasurable time, under varying influences. I find that life upon this earth, before becoming man, existed in a hundred thousand other forms. I find that not only the life, but even the ultimate structure of the substance of the plant, the animal and the man is the same. . . . Substance—the essence of all things—never began,—nor did life ever begin: it always was; it always will be; and what we call mind and what we call matter are but two different appearances of the same Infinite Reality." You can perceive how great a shock a philosophy like this must have produced upon the Western mind—because it was new. Its great exponent was Herbert Spencer.⁸

Finally, not all of Hearn's work was descriptive or expository; he collected and retold traditional Japanese tales and expanded incidents of contemporary life into short stories. Hearn's interest in the ghostly and macabre determined the selection of these narratives; his stories usually treat of ghosts, goblins, murders, and suicides. Often, however, they are used as illustrations of the Japanese acceptance of the interdependence of the material and spiritual planes, and perhaps Spencer's view of animism as the primary stage in the development of religion influenced Hearn's treatment of these subjects.

Three motifs which are omnipresent in Hearn's books on Japan, then, are the defense of Japanese civilization against Western influence; the alliance of Spencer's philosophy, viewed as the essence of modern science, with Buddhism; and a predilection for the macabre.

His sources were varied: for his narratives he utilized collections of Japanese tales; the poems which he translated for "Old Japanese Songs," "Frogs," and "Semi" were taken from classical Japanese literature or from the folk songs of his day; his articles on Buddhism imply a broad knowledge of the rituals and doctrines of Japanese, Chinese, and Indian Buddhism. Yet, strangely enough, Hearn had a poor knowledge of the Japanese language, even after fourteen years in Japan. He had some knowledge of colloquial Japanese. During the first years of his marriage he conversed with his wife, Setsu Koizumi, in a pidgin-Japanese which they called "Hearn-dialect." He never learned to read or write Japanese characters. Since it was impossible for him to go directly to his sources, he was fortunate in

⁸ Hearn, *A History of English Literature*, Ryuji Tanabe and Teisaburo Ochiai, eds. (3rd ed.; Tokyo, 1934), pp. 694-695.

having able friends and an intelligent and devoted wife. They gathered his materials and worked out the translations for him.

With what little Japanese he could command and with the aid of interpreters or of his wife, he ranged through the uncharted complexity of life in Japan. "I do not *invent* my stories," Hearn explained; "I get them from Japanese life—facts told in papers, facts told me by pilgrims, travellers, servants—facts observed in travelling myself."⁹ During the first half of his stay in Japan he received much information and helpful criticism from Professor Chamberlain. Later, when he taught at Tokyo Imperial University, he relied heavily on the information supplied by his assistant, Masanobu Otani. Between January, 1897, and June, 1899, Otani wrote twenty-six essays on subjects assigned to him by Hearn. Of these, fifteen were utilized by Hearn in his articles.¹⁰ Nobushige Amenomori, a Japanese friend, also supplied him with information on Buddhism.¹¹ Most of his research, then, was accomplished by those best suited to the task, native Japanese.

The patient explanations of Mrs. Hearn were of immeasurable aid to him. Her place in Hearn's life has been underestimated by some of his biographers; and one, a woman, disappointed because of Mrs. Hearn's plainness, has been rude enough to say that "she might have been a well-mannered housekeeper in a large English establishment."¹² Mrs. Hearn was not "a dainty creature";¹³ she was far more practical than her husband, and protected him from realizing the effects of his erratic conduct on the sensitive and formal Japanese, among whom he lived.¹⁴

Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan, Hearn's first book on Japan, was published in 1894 and covers the period from 1890 to 1893. Hearn arrived in Yokohama in April, 1890, and through the aid of Professor Chamberlain obtained a teaching position in the government school at Matsue in the remote province of Izumo. He was hospitably received by the people; many had never seen a foreigner

⁹ Nobushige Amenomori, "Lafcadio Hearn, the Man," *Atlantic Monthly*, XCVI, 510 (Oct., 1905).

¹⁰ George R. Bedinger, "Japanese Sources of Lafcadio Hearn," *Independent*, LXXIII, 1170 (Nov., 1912).

¹¹ Amenomori, "Lafcadio Hearn, the Man," *loc. cit.*, p. 512.

¹² Nina H. Kennard, *Lafcadio Hearn* (London, 1912), p. 359.

¹³ Jean Temple, *Blue Ghost* (New York, 1931), p. 126.

¹⁴ Hakucho Masamune has written a well-deserved tribute to Mrs. Hearn in his paper, "New Light on Lafcadio Hearn," *loc. cit.*, p. 272.

before. His first reaction was one of enthusiasm for all things Japanese:

What I love in Japan is the Japanese,—the poor simple humanity of the country. It is divine. There is nothing in this world approaching the naive natural charm of them. No book ever written has reflected it. And I love their gods, their customs, their bird-like quavering songs, their houses, their superstitions, their faults.¹⁵

He experienced a feeling of freedom and release. The foreigner in Japan is exempt from the rigid obligations which constitute the social scheme of the country and can move at will from one stratum of Japanese society to another,¹⁶ while each Japanese has his proper station:

At first, the sense of existence here is like that of escaping from an almost unbearable atmospheric pressure into a rarefied, highly exaggerated medium. That feeling continues: in Japan the law of life is not as with us,—that each one strives to expand his individuality at the expense of his neighbor's.¹⁷

But the first feelings of dissatisfaction had also appeared. In the same letter he lamented the lack of "fine inspiration" and "deep emotion."

It was in Izumo, which had preserved much of the feudal system, that Hearn found his greatest happiness in Japan, and perhaps it was for this reason that he believed prerestoration Japan was idyllic. In 1893 he took another teaching post in Kumamoto. Kumamoto was a commercial city and had many foreign residents. It was part of the new Japan, and Hearn hated it. In a letter to Professor Chamberlain he wrote:

The spirit of insubordination, hostility to foreigners, disrespect to traditions, contempt for religion, and national vanity,—grows with prodigious rapidity just in proportion as the modernization becomes more thorough. The educated Japanese complains at being obliged to conceal his skepticism about the divinity of the Emperor. But when the peasant becomes equally skeptical he won't pay his taxes. I can't see anything for Japan

¹⁵ Bisland, *Letters*, II, 3.

¹⁶ "Our chief feeling in Japan is one of freedom . . . we are like tired horses who have had their heavy harness taken off, and are free to roll anyhow on the turf" (Ernest Foxwell, "Reminiscences of Lafcadio Hearn," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society of London*, VIII, 89, 1908).

¹⁷ Bisland, *Letters*, II, 35.

now but revolution or a military domination; the latter would, I think, be best.¹⁸

This passage provides a clue to the origin and development of Hearn's conservatism. He identified antforeign sentiment (which he had not experienced in Izumo) with the spread of Western influence, and he expected the dissolution of the hierarchical society which he admired. These were threats to his security; he was confronted with the possibility of expulsion from a society which had sheltered and accepted him. His reaction was to identify himself with the Japanese, by which means he removed the stigma of foreign influence from his own actions, and to align himself with the conservative Japanese who resisted the disruptive Western elements. One of the weapons of that resistance was military strength, and Hearn supported Japanese militarism wholeheartedly. By 1893, then, Hearn had taken his place in the ranks of Japanese conservatism, and he supported the view of the conservatives in all his political writings.

The preface to *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* is not merely a nostalgic reference to the happy days in Izumo; it is a defense of the traditional folkways of the Japanese.

This is the life of which a foreign observer can never weary, if fortunate and sympathetic enough to enter into it,—the life that forces him sometimes to doubt whether the course of our boasted Western progress is really in the direction of moral development.¹⁹

The sketches in these two volumes are the reports of a sensitive observer. Hearn's impressions are not vague; he notes the sounds and smells of Japanese streets, the cries of street vendors, and he attempts to record Japanese folkways. The area covered by these studies, however, is limited to Izumo and the surrounding provinces; it is not a survey of Japan but of a provincial and mostly rural culture.

The conversation of the Japanese is often given a touch of the "quaintness" which is associated with the romantic view of Japan. Hearn translates literally, even keeping the exact order of the ideographs in a Chinese compound. He explains his reasons for utilizing a literal translation in a letter to Professor Chamberlain: "In a story,

¹⁸ Bisland, *Japanese Letters*, p. 132.

¹⁹ Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (Boston and New York, 1894), I, vii.

the foreign idiom, however queer, must remain the foreign idiom in English; otherwise one simply makes Japanese talk and think English."²⁰ Thus the advice of an innkeeper to a crowd of curious Japanese who wished to see the stranger is translated as, "Now august-to-eat-time-is; to-look-at *evil* matter is. *Honorable-returning-time-in* to-look-at-as-for-is-good."²¹

Several of the articles, such as "Kitsune," a study of the fox cult, are of special interest to the student of Japanese customs. Hearn makes few personal judgments. His primary purpose is to observe and report, and his observations are detailed and accurate.

Despite the scarcity of overt evaluations, however, Hearn's prejudices and predilections are quite evident. He includes an article on Japanese ghosts, "Of Ghosts and Goblins," the first of a long series of studies of Japanese ghost folklore. The article "Of Souls" is an explanation of the Buddhist doctrine of multiple souls within a single ego. This doctrine was later worked into Hearn's theory of the parallelism of Buddhism and science. In the final paper, "Sayonara," Hearn reprints a significant letter of farewell to his students at Matsue, written on the occasion of his departure for Kumamoto. The letter, thanking the students for the gift of a sword, urges the necessity for absolute loyalty to the Emperor:

[The sword is] a symbol not only of your affection and loyalty as students to teachers, but of that other beautiful sense of duty you expressed, when so many of you wrote down for me, as your dearest wish, the desire to die for His Imperial Majesty, your Emperor. That wish is holy; it means perhaps even more than you know, or can know, until you shall have become much older and wiser.²²

Hearn's next two books on Japan, *Out of the East* (1895) and *Kokoro* (1896), display a change from general description to exposition and evaluation of the spiritual side of Japanese life. Hearn began *Out of the East* during his residence in Kumamoto in 1893. His purpose is explained in a letter to a Japanese friend:

I have been working hard at a new book, which is now half-finished, and consists of philosophical sketches chiefly: It will be a very different book from the "Glimpses," and will show you how much the Japanese world has changed for me. I imagine that sympathy and friendship are

²⁰ Bisland, *Japanese Letters*, p. 23.

²¹ *Glimpses*, I, 226.

²² *Glimpses*, II, 686-687.

almost impossible for any foreigner to obtain,—because of the amazing difference in the psychology of the two races.²³

Several of these essays are indicative of the range and depth of Hearn's early observations of Japanese social patterns and religion. In "With Kyushu Students" he records the Japanese attitude toward family obligations, as explained to him by his students. One of his conclusions is that "childhood in Japan is certainly happier than in other lands, and therefore perhaps is regretted earlier in adult life."²⁴ Dr. Benedict, a well-known anthropologist, corroborates this opinion: "The arc of life in Japan is plotted in opposite fashion to that in the United States. It is a great shallow U-curve with maximum freedom and indulgence allowed to babies and the old."²⁵

The influence of Herbert Spencer is evident in the essay "Jiu-jutsu." Spencer had predicted that the influence of Western ideas would break up the pattern of Japanese society, and that reorganization would be necessary.²⁶ Hearn, of course, agreed with this view, and added that Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War proved that she had successfully absorbed Western ideas, and had achieved a new stability.

Kokoro extended the study of Japan's spiritual life which Hearn had begun in *Out of the East*. In it he continued to draw political and social corollaries. The preface reflects his increasing preoccupation with the spirit of Japanese culture: "The papers composing this volume treat of the inner rather than of the outer life of Japan,—for which reason they have been grouped under the title *Kokoro* (heart)."²⁷

In "The Genius of Japanese Civilization" Hearn declares that the adoption of Western technology has not changed the physical appearance of Japan.²⁸ The corollary which he draws from this observation is significant: "The strength of Japan, like the strength of her ancient faith, needs little material display: both exist where the deepest real power of any great people exists—in the Race Ghost."²⁹

²³ Bisland, *Letters*, II, 159.

²⁴ Hearn, *Out of the East* (Boston and New York, 1895), p. 46.

²⁵ *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, p. 254.

²⁶ See Herbert Spencer, *First Principles* (3rd ed.; London, 1870), pp. 519-522.

²⁷ Hearn, *Kokoro* (Boston and New York, 1896), Preface.

²⁸ See *Kokoro*, p. 14. Japan, however, had already begun to organize its great industrial combines, and Hearn did not realize that the factory town would soon become commonplace in Japan.

²⁹ *Kokoro*, p. 15.

This is an argument which was repeated over and over again by Japanese propagandists during the war. Hearn was rephrasing a widespread Japanese belief in terms more plausible to the Western reader. The Japanese were convinced of the invincibility of *Yamato Damashii*, Japanese spirit, a conception which is remarkably close in both literal meaning and implication to Hearn's "Race Ghost." Whether a race ghost exists is not the point. It did exist for the Japanese, if only as a product of nationalistic indoctrination. There was a general belief among Japanese that the spirit of their race was superior to that of any other, and Hearn concurred in this belief, although for different and supposedly scientific reasons.

In "A Glimpse of Tendencies" Hearn predicts correctly the extension of Japanese control over foreign capital in Japan and the growth of resentment against the Western powers. He warns that "Japan must develop her own soul: she cannot borrow another."³⁰ The essay is an exposition of the conservatism which Hearn supported, but it is backed by a perceptive analysis of the dominant factors in the development of Japan. It is not a mere polemic against Western civilization.

"By Force of Karma" is a variation on the theme of the parallelism of modern science and Buddhism, and the same theme is introduced into a sentimental study of the education of "A Conservative." "The Idea of Preexistence" and "Some Thoughts about Ancestor-Worship" are attempts to link the two major religions of Japan to modern science. Hearn sought to correlate the nineteenth-century concept of heredity with the Buddhist doctrine of Karma and with the Shinto belief in the influence of the dead upon the living.

The first complete statement of Hearn's characteristic themes and attitudes, then, appears in *Out of the East* and *Kokoro*. The pattern which had been formed in these studies of Japanese "inner life" remained as the core of his later books which covered an increasingly wider area of Japanese life and culture. Between *Kokoro* (1896) and *Japan* (1904) Hearn published seven books: *Gleanings in Buddha-fields* (1897), *Exotics and Retrospectives* (1898), *In Ghostly Japan* (1899), *Shadowings* (1900), *A Japanese Miscellany* (1901), *Kotto* (1902), and *Kwaidan* (1904). After his death in 1904, his uncollected magazine articles and completed manuscripts were gath-

³⁰ *Kokoro*, p. 152.

ered together and published under the title of *The Romance of the Milky Way* (1905). Hearn continued his study of Japanese religion in these volumes, stressing, as always, the parallelism of Buddhism and science, although he was forced to modify his ideas on this subject in one important respect. In addition, he began to gather and translate Japanese ghost stories: *Kotto* and *Kwaidan* are collections of these tales, and many are scattered throughout the other books. A number of articles on Japanese poetry also appear in these works; they are collections of poetry on specific topics and include brief explanations of the form and nature of Japanese poetry. These investigations of Japanese religion, folklore, and poetry expanded Hearn's knowledge of Japanese culture and customs, but they did not change his basic beliefs.

Hearn persisted in attributing to Buddhism an intuitive understanding of the influence of heredity. The nineteenth-century theory of heredity, it should be noted, is no longer considered to be correct; consequently, Hearn's correlation of the metaphysics of Buddhism and the metaphysics of science is not as thoroughly backed by the evidence of science as he imagined. However, Hearn was forced to admit that the Japanese generally accepted a form of Buddhism which was completely opposed to his conception of Buddhism as a religion without prayer or a belief in a future life. Many Japanese are adherents of the Jodo and Shinshu sects; both utilize prayers and are based on the worship of Amida, Lord of the Western Paradise. In "Nirvana," an essay on Buddhism, Hearn points out:

I need scarcely say that popular Buddhism does not include concepts such as we have been examining. The people hold to the simpler creed of a veritable transmigration of souls. . . . The people do not trouble themselves about *Nehan* or Nirvana; but they think much about heaven (*Gokuraku*) which the members of many sects believe can be attained immediately after this life by the spirits of the good.³¹

Evidently the Japanese people were not so thoroughly prepared by Buddhism for the revelations of Herbert Spencer as Hearn had thought.

Hearn had always been fascinated by tales of ghosts and by macabre and bloody scenes. Even as a child he was obsessed by a morbid terror of the supernatural, and imagined that phantoms gathered around him when he was forced to sleep in a darkened room.³²

³¹ Hearn, *Gleanings in Buddha-fields* (Boston and New York, 1897), p. 241.

³² Hearn, *Shadowings* (Boston, 1907), pp. 238-244.

When Hearn worked as a reporter he took great delight in viewing suicides and murders, and, on one occasion, amused himself by sliding across a bloody floor as little boys slide on ice.³³

In her reminiscences Mrs. Hearn describes the telling of a Japanese ghost story to her husband, and reveals his close attention to realistic detail. The story is "The Legend of Yurei-daki" in *Kotto*, a tale in which a woman, bearing a baby on her back, braves the evil spirit of a waterfall. When she returns unharmed she discovers that her child's head has been ripped from its body. Mrs. Hearn's description of her husband's reactions gives a clear picture of his methods in handling this type of narrative:

On quiet nights, after lowering the wick of the lamp, I would begin to tell ghost stories. Hearn would ask questions with bated breath, and would listen to my tales with a terrified air. . . .

When I told him the old tales, I always first gave the plot roughly; and wherever he found an interesting place, he made a note of it. Then he would ask me to give the details, and often to repeat them. If I told him the story by reading it from a book, he would say, "There is no use of your reading it from the book. I prefer your own words and phrases—all from your own thought. Otherwise it won't do." Therefore I had to assimilate the story before telling it. That made me dream. He would become so eager when I reached an interesting point of a story! His facial expression would change and his eyes burn intensely. This change was extraordinary. For example, take the story "O Katsu San of Yurei-dake" in the first part of the book "Kotto." As I was narrating that story, his face became extremely pale and his eyes fixed. That was not unusual, but this once I suddenly felt afraid. He sighed one long breath, and said, "Very interesting!" when I finished it.

He asked me to say "Alas! Blood!" and repeat it several times. He inquired how it had been said, and in what tone of voice; what kind of night it was, and how the wooden clogs would sound. . . .³⁴

In Hearn's translations of Japanese poetry there is a similar attempt to carry over into English not only the general effect but the details of the Japanese version. In order to gain some understanding of Hearn's problems in translating Japanese poetry, it is necessary to review briefly the qualities of Japanese verse forms. The major part of Japanese poetry has been written in unrhymed poems of thirty-one and seventeen syllables. The *tanka*, the thirty-one syllable

³³ Edward L. Tinker, *Lafcadio Hearn's American Days* (New York, 1924), p. 16.

³⁴ Setsuko Koizumi, *Reminiscences of Lafcadio Hearn*, translated by Paul K. Hisada and Frederick Johnson (Boston and New York, 1918), pp. 36-37.

form, is arranged in five lines with five syllables in the first line, seven in the second, five in the third, seven in the fourth, and seven in the fifth. The *hokku* consists of three lines: five syllables, seven syllables, and five syllables. Japanese poetry is concise and elliptical. Each poem usually presents a single picture, and the image is stripped to its essentials. This compact image is surrounded by traditional implications; it suggests, but it does not explain. Hearn says of the *hokku*:

Almost the only rule about *hokku*,—not at all a rigid one,—is that the poem shall be a little word picture,—that it shall revive the memory of something seen or felt,—that it shall appeal to some experience of sense.³⁵

Hearn followed the original closely, translating into prose or several unrhymed lines. In one of his lectures on English literature he explained his views on translation: "Any poetry which does not remain poetry when literally translated into any other language—and I mean translated into prose—is not the greatest poetry,—is not in most cases even great poetry."³⁶

Several of Hearn's collections of translations have been published in one volume,³⁷ and the titles of these collections indicate the breadth of his interest: "Insect Poems," "Lullabies and Children's Verse," "Love Songs and Lyrics," "Goblin Poetry," and "The River of Heaven." Hearn drew from widely separated currents in the tradition of Japanese poetry. The poems in "The River of Heaven" are taken from the *Manyōshū* ("Collection of a Myriad Leaves"), an anthology of ancient Japanese poetry compiled in the ninth century. The "Lullabies and Children's Verses," on the other hand, are folk songs, and forms other than the classical *tanka* and *hokku* are included.

The question of the accuracy of Hearn's translations must be left to authorities on Japanese literature. These poems are subject to innumerable interpretations, and, as Professor Chamberlain points out, "The Japanese themselves often grope vainly in the obscurity thus caused, as the attempted explanations of the commentators amusingly testify."³⁸

Hearn's last book, *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*, is his most comprehensive and definitive analysis of Japan. It draws on the store of knowledge which had been accumulated in the prepara-

³⁵ Hearn, *A Japanese Miscellany* (Boston, 1901), pp. 97-98.

³⁶ *A History of English Literature*, p. 282.

³⁷ Hearn, translator, *Japanese Lyrics* (Boston and New York, 1915).

³⁸ Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Japanese Poetry* (London, 1911), p. 165.

tion of the preceding books. Moreover, there is little trace of the sentimentality which appears in much of the earlier work; the tone of the book is scholarly and balanced.

He approached his subject with great humility and a sense of his own shortcomings:

I am quite sure that I do *not* know anything about Japanese art, or literature, or ethnology, or politics, or history. . . . At present I have no acquaintance even with the Japanese language: I cannot read a Japanese newspaper; and I have learned only enough, even of the *kana*, to write a letter home. . . .

*I have learned about Japan only enough to convince me that I know nothing about Japan.*³⁹

His knowledge of Japan, however, had increased to the point where he could discern the errors in his earlier writings. He had learned that Japan had a long history of rigid control and oppression, and that life in feudal Japan was not as idyllic as he had believed. Hearn condemned "The Genius of Japanese Civilization" as a "failure" and admitted that it contained "some very serious sociological errors."⁴⁰

The primary purpose of *Japan*, as explained in a letter written in 1903, was to treat of Japanese religious life.⁴¹ Hearn intended to point out similarities between the early Greek and modern Japanese civilizations. In the final version, however, he took pains to emphasize that this comparison did not imply the complete identity of their cultural patterns, but was made to illustrate the survival in modern Japan of customs common to societies in an early stage of development.

Japan is not merely a study of Japanese religion; it is an exposition of the policies of Japanese conservatism. Hearn's acceptance of this political doctrine was not based on an emotional reverence for Japanese tradition, as it had been in his earliest writings. He had accepted Herbert Spencer's analysis of the modernization of Japan, and he concurred with Spencer in urging the Japanese to resist the economic and cultural domination of the West. In an appendix to *Japan* he included a letter from Spencer to a Japanese statesman,

³⁹ Quoted from a letter to Elizabeth Bisland, dated Nov., 1902 (Bisland, *Letters*, II, 486).

⁴⁰ See letter to Mrs. Hirn, dated July, 1903 (Bisland, *Letters*, II, 501-502).

⁴¹ Bisland, *Letters*, II, 505.

dated August 26, 1892. It had been made public shortly after Spencer's death in 1903. The advice contained in the letter, as Hearn admits, was even more conservative than he had imagined. Spencer concluded with this unequivocal warning: "You see, therefore, that my advice is strongly conservative in all directions, and I end by saying as I began—*keep other races at arm's length as much as possible.*"⁴²

This is one of Hearn's conclusions in *Japan*, and it is presented as the most desirable course of action for the Japanese. In attempting to estimate the ability of the Japanese to preserve their independence, Hearn achieved, more than in any other of his works, a dispassionate view of the faults and virtues of Japanese society. Some of his cherished theories were dropped completely, and others were modified.

Japan is organized about a general description of the development of Japanese religions, but a large part of the book consists of a study of the extent to which religion has influenced the social and political life of the nation. It begins with an examination of the obvious differences between Japanese and Occidental culture. In this discussion Hearn modifies his concept of heredity:

East and West, the fundamental parts of human nature—the emotional bases of it—are much the same: the mental difference between a Japanese and a European child is mainly potential. But with growth the difference rapidly develops and widens, till it becomes, in adult life, inexpressible.⁴³

The Race Ghost has been converted into the much more plausible theory, from the modern point of view, of the acquisition of cultural traits through environmental influence.

In his study of Japanese religion Hearn traces the evolution of the indigenous cult, Shinto, from ancestor worship to the modern hierarchy of the Domestic Cult, the Communal Cult, and the State Cult. The origin of State Shinto, Hearn points out, is comparatively recent, dating back to the Shinto revival of the eighteenth century. The two older forms of Shinto have been of great importance in molding the social structure, since both emphasize the obligations of the living to the dead. Hearn explains in detail the system of social obligations based upon the "rule of the dead." His explanation is corroborated and expanded by Dr. Benedict in her recent book.

⁴² *Japan*, p. 532.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

She, too, emphasizes that one of the foundations of Japanese society is a feeling of indebtedness to the past:

Oriental nations turn the coin to the other side: they are debtors to the ages. . . . Righteousness in Japan depends upon recognition of one's place in the great network of mutual indebtedness that embraces both one's forebears and one's contemporaries.⁴⁴

Hearn follows his discussion of Shinto with two essays on Buddhism, tracing the history of Buddhism in Japan and explaining the doctrines of "the higher Buddhism." He continues to associate Buddhism and science, but stresses the fact that popular Buddhism is excluded from this association: "It was never understood by the people at all, nor is it taught to them today. It is a religion of metaphysicians, a religion of scholars. . . ."⁴⁵

Hearn's attitude toward the traditional pattern of Japanese society changed markedly, reflecting the revision of his estimate of the virtues of the feudal era. He defines the difference between this pattern and the structure of Western society as "the difference between the most despotic form of communism, founded upon the most ancient form of religion, and the most highly evolved form of industrial union, with unlimited individual right of competition."⁴⁶ He points out that

any society whose ethical traditions forbid the individual to profit at the cost of his fellowmen will be placed at an enormous disadvantage when forced into the industrial struggle for existence against communities whose self-government permits of the greatest personal freedom, and the widest range of competitive enterprise.⁴⁷

Japan was faced with the dilemma of preserving her ethical system while adopting Western industrial techniques in order to resist foreign economic pressure. Hearn offered no solution; but he insisted that foreign pressure must be resisted if Japan was to survive as a nation. His aim in this book, then, was not to defend Japanese traditions, but to warn that these traditions must be modified to insure Japan's independence.

In his chapter on "Survivals" Hearn gives a concise picture of the dangers inherent in Japanese traditions:

⁴⁴ *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, p. 98.

⁴⁵ *Japan*, p. 249.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 279-280.

That all are polite, that nobody quarrels, that everybody smiles, that pain and sorrow remain invisible, that the new police have nothing to do, would seem to prove a morally superior humanity. But for the trained sociologist it would prove something different, and suggest something very terrible. It would prove to him that this society had been moulded under immense coercion, and that the coercion must have been exerted uninterruptedly for thousands of years. He would immediately perceive that ethics and custom had not yet become dissociated, and that the conduct of each person was regulated by the will of the rest. He would know that personality could not develop in such a social medium,—that no individual superiority dare assert itself, that no competition would be tolerated.⁴⁸

Surely this is not the romantic view of Japan!

Hearn continues his discussion with a study of the three types of social pressure in Japan: pressure from above, pressure from one's equals, and pressure from one's inferiors. These deprive the individual of free action, and Hearn warns that while this system insures a stable society under normal conditions and is ideal for the growth of military power, it impedes the development of economic strength. Japan's industrial system is severely condemned by Hearn as incapable of supporting the Japanese struggle for national survival.

If the future of Japan could depend upon her army and her navy, upon the high courage of her people and their readiness to die by the hundred thousand for ideals of honour and of duty, there would be small cause for alarm in the present state of affairs. Unfortunately her future must depend upon other qualities than courage, other abilities than those of sacrifice; and her struggle hereafter must be one in which her social traditions will place her at an immense disadvantage. The capacity for industrial competition cannot be made to depend upon the misery of women and children; it must depend upon the intelligent freedom of the individual; and the society which suppresses this freedom, or suffers it to be suppressed, must remain too rigid for competition with societies in which the liberties of the individual are strictly maintained. While Japan continues to think and to act by groups, even by groups of industrial companies, so long she must always continue incapable of her best.⁴⁹

The fate of Japan in World War II bears out the accuracy of Hearn's perceptive analysis. Self-sacrifice was made an integral part

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 418-419.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 495-496.

of military operations; the Japanese made use of suicide planes, *baka* bombs, piloted torpedoes, and similar devices. Japanese propagandists admitted the superiority of American industrial resources, but asserted that spiritual strength would defeat material strength. Scientific research, for example, did not receive the same encouragement in Japan that it received in the United States. The military groups often ignored the work of Japanese scientists. In short, "group action," bent on victory at any price, attempted to balance the superiority of American resources by placing the main burden of the war effort on the overworked and ill-fed Japanese people.

The only advice which Hearn could offer to the Japanese was to salvage as much as possible from their country's traditional religion and its concomitant ethics:

All her modern successes have been aided by it; and all her modern failures have been marked by needless breaking with its ethical custom. . . . More freedom indeed she requires,—but freedom restrained by wisdom; freedom to think and act and strive for self as well as others, —not freedom to oppress the weak, or to exploit the simple.⁵⁰

The conclusion of *Japan* was written during the Russo-Japanese War. Hearn's patriotism colored his final chapter, "Reflections." He saw in this struggle an external force which would tighten the bonds of society and forestall the disintegration produced by foreign ideas. "Before the Russian menace, the soul of Yamato revives again."⁵¹ But he warned that the Japanese must not become overconfident. "Japan," he wrote, "has incomparably more to fear from English or American capital than from Russian battleships and bayonets."⁵² Economic domination seemed to him to be the greatest threat.

Hearn concludes with an admission of the difficulty of the problems facing Japan, and states the seemingly insoluble dilemma:

And of these problems the most inexorable remains to be solved. It is furnished by the fact that although all the successes of Japan have been so far due to unselfish collective action, sustained by the old Shinto ideals of duty and obedience, her industrial future must depend upon egoistic individual action of a totally opposite kind!⁵³

This was Lafcadio Hearn's final work. He died in 1904, shortly after its completion, and did not live to see the victory over Russia.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 496-497.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 509.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 510.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 512.

During his fourteen years of residence in Japan, he had learned much about the Japanese and their society. His writings reveal the progressive stages of his education in things Japanese. *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* was composed of essays recording the reactions of an enthusiastic traveler to the beauty of a strange new world. In his later books Hearn attempted to gain some understanding of the pattern and spirit of Japanese culture, but his judgments were often premature and warped by his reliance on Spencer's philosophy, by his irrational love of Japan, and by his hatred of the West. In his last book, however, although he still wrote as a conservative Japanese subject, he was able to divest himself of his prejudices and presented a balanced analysis of Japan. His analysis was accurate in many respects, and it can hardly be termed "romantic."

This paper has merely scanned the enormous range of Hearn's books on Japan. The value of some of his work has been indicated, but much remains to be done. The importance of further research is beyond question. American interest in Japan has been revived by the occupation, and Hearn's books, which are available in many libraries, should be consulted. These books, however, must be read with a full knowledge of Hearn's attitudes and prejudices. The limits of his accuracy, therefore, should be exactly defined, and only painstaking research can accomplish that task.

ORIGINS OF JAMES FENIMORE COOPER'S THE TWO ADMIRALS

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JAMES FENIMORE COOPER, in the Preface to the revised edition of his novel *The Two Admirals*,¹ discusses America's lack of a fleet, Napoleon's failure to understand naval affairs, and Nelson's victory at the Nile; and concludes: "The reader who feels an interest in such subjects, will probably detect the secret process of the mind, by which some of the foregoing facts have insinuated themselves into this fiction."² Study of Cooper's life and *The Two Admirals* reveals that more than the facts mentioned by him insinuated themselves into his novel.

Young Wycherly Wychembe, the hero of the subplot of *The Two Admirals*, finds his American birth looked down on in England,³ just as had Cooper himself when a youth of seventeen;⁴ but the germinal idea of *The Two Admirals* is first found in Cooper's *The History of the Navy of the United States of America*.⁵ In the Preface to *The History of the Navy* Cooper writes:

While biographies of naval men are usually replete with interest, on account of the hazards and stirring incidents of the sea, few general records of nautical events have been found to attract attention, beyond the value that is attached to naked facts. If such has been the case with most of the histories of even the marine of Great Britain, a service that admits of the unity and interest belonging to the operations of fleets, still more may it be looked for in the records of the isolated and simpler incidents of a navy like that of the United States.⁶

Cooper's Preface to the first edition of *The Two Admirals* begins with the following statements:

¹ First American edition (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1842). The revised edition (New York, 1851) contains a new preface; other changes, chiefly in punctuation, are insignificant. All references to *The Two Admirals* in this study are to the revised edition unless otherwise indicated.

² P. 8.

³ P. 273.

⁴ Robert E. Spiller (ed.), *Gleanings in Europe: Volume Two—England* (New York, 1930), pp. 9-10.

⁵ Two vols.; London, 1839.

⁶ I, v.

Among all the sea-tales that the last twenty years have produced, we know of none in which the evolutions of fleets have formed any material feature. The world has many admirably drawn scenes, in which pictures of the manoeuvres of single ships, and exquisite touches of nautical character, have abounded; but every writer of romance appears to have carefully abstained from dealing with the profession on a large scale.⁷

The writing of *The History of the Navy* convinced Cooper that the stories of the combats of single ships lack something of the interest of tales of fleets. It also gave him a very strong conviction of America's need for a fleet.⁸ He is careful to explain why the American practice of employing ships singly is in error:

Under the present system of employing the public vessels, none of the peculiar experience that belongs to the higher objects of the profession is obtained. While ships may be likened to regiments, as regards the necessity of manoeuvring together, there is one important feature in which they are totally dissimilar. It may be pretty safely thought that one disciplined regiment will march as far, endure as much, and occupy its station as certainly as another, but no such calculation can be made on ships. . . .

It will be clear to the dullest mind, that the evolutions of a fleet, and, in a greater or less degree, its success, must be dependent on the qualities of its poorest vessels; since its best cannot abandon their less fortunate consorts to the enemy. . . . To keep a number of vessels in compact order, to cause them to preserve their weatherly position in gales and adverse winds, and to bring them all as near as possible up to the standard that shall be formed by the most judicious and careful commander, is one of the highest aims of naval experience.⁹

The great advantage of well-matched vessels is stated by Cooper in his later Preface to *The Two Admirals* and is undoubtedly one of the "facts [which] have insinuated themselves into this fiction":

It has been said of Napoleon that he never could be made to understand why his fleets did not obey his orders with the same accuracy, as to time and place, as his *corps d'armée*. He made no allowances for the winds and currents, and least of all, did he comprehend that all important circumstance, that the efficiency of a fleet is necessarily confined to the rate of sailing of the dullest of its ships. More may be expected from a squadron of ten sail, all of which shall be average vessels, in this

⁷ I, ix.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, xvii-xviii.

⁸ See *The History of the Navy*, I, xi-xvi.

respect, than from the same number of vessels, of which one half are fast and the remainder dull.¹⁰

In the text of the novel, the same idea appears:

The vice-admiral was familiar with that all-important fact—one that members equally of Congress and of Parliament are so apt to forget, or rather not to know at all—that the efficiency of a whole fleet, as a fleet, is necessarily brought down to the level of its worst ships. Of little avail is it, that four or five vessels of a squadron sail fast, and work well, if the eight or ten that remain, behave badly, and are dull.¹¹

In his Introduction to *The History of the Navy* Cooper uses thirteen pages¹² to discuss the damage caused to the American naval service by the lack of an adequate number of gradations in promotion and particularly the lack of any permanent rank above that of captain. The weaknesses in the public policy of the United States are restated by Cooper in his early Preface to *The Two Admirals*:

An American fleet never yet assembled. The republic possesses the materials for collecting such a phenomenon, but has ever seemed to be wanting in the will. A strange and dangerous reluctance to create even the military rank that is indispensable to the exercise of due authority over such a force, has existed in the councils of the state; and had the name of this work been "The *One* Admiral," instead of "The *Two* Admirals," we should have been driven abroad in quest of a hero for our tale.¹³

The Two Admirals shows two flag officers who exercise intelligent command over squadrons of ships which they have brought to a high level of efficiency through working in unison. The novel contains numerous references to the smart handling of ships together;¹⁴ and the whole action at sea, in which the English fleet through superior tactics wins victory in two brisk engagements against more numerous French forces, is an exemplification of the principle which Cooper had enunciated in the Introduction to *The History of the Navy*:

. . . the principal ends of a navy can no more be obtained by the services of single ships, than wars can be decided by armies cut up into battalions. Small vessels are as indispensable for lower schools of practice, as com-

¹⁰ P. 5.

¹¹ Pp. 178-179.

¹² I, xix-xxxi.

¹³ I, x-xi.

¹⁴ Pp. 73, 381-382, 408, 411.

pany drills in an army; but squadrons alone can produce the highest class of officers, the steadiest discipline, or the desired objects.¹⁵

Lest any reader of the novel miss the true meaning of the action, Cooper is careful to point the moral. After the first engagement with the French, Sir Gervaise Oakes, the Vice-Admiral, says to Wyche-combe, the Lieutenant:

"No country can ever have a powerful marine, or, one likely to produce much influence in her wars, that does not pay rigid attention to the tactics of fleets. Your frigate actions and sailing of single ships, are well enough as drill; but the great practice must be in squadron. . . . Now, we owe the success of this day, to our practice of sailing in close order, and in knowing how to keep our stations; else would six ships never have been able to carry away the palm of victory from twelve. . . ."¹⁶

Enough evidence has been given above, I believe, to prove the close connection between *The History of the Navy of the United States*, published in 1839, and *The Two Admirals*, published in 1842. To summarize, Cooper in writing the *History* became conscious of the "interest belonging to the operations of fleets."¹⁷ His study also gave him a very strong conviction of America's need for a fleet and need for changes in the system of naval promotion, particularly the provision of the rank of admiral. What more natural, then, for a man such as Cooper, a successful novelist and a critic of his country's institutions, than to think of writing a novel which would contain the interest of fleet operations and which would also propagate his ideas concerning the American naval service? In his early Preface to *The Two Admirals* Cooper says that he has refrained from writing a novel of fleets "partly from a certain consciousness of incompetency; but more, perhaps, from a desire, in writing of ships, to write as much as possible under that flag to which we have been accustomed, and to which we properly belong."¹⁸ This statement is probably true as far as it goes, but it is also part of Cooper's argument that America needs an admiral. Certainly it was not until after Cooper had written *The History of the Navy* that he wrote *The Two Admirals*, and the internal evidence previously cited indicates a definite connection between the two works. In addition, Cooper's researches for the *History* had

¹⁵ I, xix.

¹⁷ *The History of the Navy*, I, v.

¹⁶ *The Two Admirals*, p. 465.

¹⁸ I, ix.

shown him how he might have a tale of fleets and yet have an American character:

It also, about this time [1750], became a practice among the gentry of the American provinces, to cause their sons to be entered as midshipmen in the royal navy. . . . The circumstance that Washington was intended for such a life is generally known. . . . Many of those who were thus rated in the English marine rose to high stations, and several have been, or still are, classed among the ablest and most useful officers in the employment of the British crown.¹⁹

In *The Two Admirals* a similar statement occurs and offers an explanation for the later appearance of Wycherly Wychecombe, a Virginian, in His Majesty's Navy:

From the time when her numbers could furnish succour of this nature, down to the day of separation, America had her full share in the exploits of the English marine. The gentry of the colonies willingly placed their sons in the royal navy, and many a bit of square bunting has been flying at the royal mast-heads of King's ships, in the nineteenth century, as the distinguishing symbols of flag-officers, who had to look for their birth-places among ourselves.²⁰

The writing of *The History of the Navy of the United States of America* prepared Cooper for the writing of a novel to treat of fleets. He needed, however, a principal idea. This he found in the letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood. In a letter dated October 17, 1840, Cooper, then aboard the U.S.S. *Macedonian* on a twelve-day cruise with his old friend Commodore Shubrick, writes to Mrs. Cooper, "I have been reading Collingwood's letters."²¹ The work to which Cooper referred was undoubtedly *A Selection from the Public and Private Correspondence of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood: Interspersed with Memoirs of His Life*, by G. L. Newnham Collingwood,²² son-in-law of Lord Collingwood, as there are no other collections of Collingwood's letters in print. The collection contains many letters from Nelson to Collingwood as well as from

¹⁹ *The History of the Navy*, I, 50.

²⁰ Pp. 10-11.

²¹ James Fenimore Cooper (ed.), *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper* (2 vols.; New Haven, 1922), II, 427.

²² London, 1828; New York, 1829. All references to the work in this study are to the American edition. The copy which Cooper read belonged very likely to Commodore Shubrick, since in the same letter in which Cooper mentions reading Collingwood's letters, he says, "Shubrick has a good many books, and the time passes swiftly" (*Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, II, 427).

Collingwood to Nelson. As interested a student of naval affairs as Cooper would know other publications concerning Nelson. He mentions Nelson in the text of *The Two Admirals* as an example in the English marine of the "fighting admiral" who gives his men plenty of action with the enemy,²³ and in his later Preface to the same work he says that Robert Southey's *The Life of Nelson* is pure fiction in all that relates to Nelson's maneuvering at the Nile and that he learned this fact in the early part of the century from Sir Alexander Ball through Commodore Charles Valentine Morris.²⁴ It is likely that Cooper read Southey's *Life* soon after its publication in 1813. The *Life*, however, indicates little more than a cursory acquaintance between Collingwood and Nelson. Only in the *Correspondence of Collingwood* does the friendship between the two great sea captains, Nelson and Collingwood, shine forth as a human relationship of rare dignity and beauty. Cooper, who in later life followed with so much interest the careers of his former naval friends,²⁵ could not have helped being struck by the friendship of these great comrades-in-arms as presented in the *Correspondence of Collingwood*. Here was the idea for which Cooper had been waiting. He would write a novel of fleets and have two admirals as the central characters. An examination of the *Correspondence of Collingwood* and *The Two Admirals* reveals Cooper's considerable debt to the former work.

The *Correspondence* shows how closely Collingwood followed upon Nelson in rank and how often they served together. Writing to the editor of a naval publication who after Trafalgar had asked him for particulars of his life, Collingwood summarized a portion of it as follows:

In 1776 I went to Jamaica as Lieutenant of the Hornet sloop; and soon after, the Lowestoffe, of which Lord Nelson was Lieutenant, came to the same station. We had been long before in habits of great friendship; and it happened here, that as Admiral Sir P. Parker, the Commander-in-Chief, was the friend of both, whenever Lord Nelson got a step in rank, I succeeded him; first in the Lowestoffe, then in the

²³ Pp. 353-354.

²⁴ P. 6.

²⁵ In his dedication of *The Pilot* to Master Commandant Shubrick in 1823, Cooper writes, "... I cherish the recollection of those [former naval friends] with whom I once lived in close familiarity with peculiar interest, and feel a triumph in their growing reputations, that is but little short of their own honest pride." See also *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper, passim*.

Badger, into which ship I was made Commander in 1779; and afterwards in the Hinchinbroke, a 28-gun frigate, which made us both Post Captains. . . . At San Juan I joined the Hinchinbroke, and succeeded Lord Nelson, who was promoted to a larger ship. . . .

. . . I was appointed to the Mediator, and went to the West Indies, where, with Lord Nelson, who then commanded the Boreas on the same station, I remained until the latter end of 1786.²⁶

In *The Two Admirals* Sir Gervaise Oakes thus reviews the careers of Rear Admiral Bluewater and himself:

"Oakes and Bluewater were reefers together, under old Breasthook, in the Mermaid; and when the first was made a Lieutenant into the Squid, the last followed as a mate. Oakes was first of the Briton, in her action with the Spanish frigates, and Bluewater third. For that affair Oakes got a sloop, and his friend went with him as his first. The next year they had the luck to capture a heavier ship than their own, when, for the first time in their service, the two young men were separated; Oakes getting a frigate, and Bluewater getting the Squid. Still they cruised in company, until the senior was sent in command of a flying squadron, with a broad pennant, when the junior, who by this time was post, received his old messmate on board his own frigate. In that manner they served together, down to the hour when he first hoisted his flag. From that time, the two old seamen have never been parted. . . ."²⁷

Numerous letters of Collingwood and Nelson evince their deep regard for each other. The phrases used are often those of eighteenth-century courtesy, but in the light of the narrative there can be little doubt of their sincerity. Nelson assures Collingwood of his "unalterable friendship and regard"²⁸ and says, "No man has more confidence in another than I have in you; and no man will render your services more justice than your very old friend, NELSON AND BRONTE."²⁹ There can be no doubt of Nelson's sincerity in his letter of thanks after the Battle of Cape St. Vincent, in which Collingwood had come to Nelson's assistance when the latter's ship was under the fire of four Spanish vessels, a situation which even Nelson recognized as "nearly a critical" one.³⁰ Collingwood, in letters to other persons, uses such terms concerning Nelson as "My good friend, the Commodore,"³¹ and "my friend-

²⁶ *Correspondence of Collingwood*, pp. 19-20.

²⁸ *Correspondence of Collingwood*, p. 34.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

²⁷ P. 54.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

ship—my love for your admirable Admiral.”³² In *The Two Admirals* Oakes and Bluewater manifest deep affection for each other. Even so hardened a sea dog as Oakes betrays a little emotion as he summarizes their joint careers.³³ “Their lives had been constant scenes of mutual but unpretending kindnesses; and this under circumstances that naturally awakened all the most generous and manly sentiments of their natures. When young men, their laughing messmates had nick-named them Pylades and Orestes. . . .”³⁴ Bluewater comes to Oakes’s succor at a critical time,³⁵ and mortally wounded as a result, is reminded on his deathbed by Oakes that the love he bears Oakes is the reason for his lying there.³⁶ After Nelson’s death at Trafalgar Collingwood wrote to his father-in-law: “I cannot tell you how deeply I was affected; my friendship for him was unlike any thing that I have left in the Navy,—a brotherhood of more than thirty years.”³⁷ Just such a friendship does Cooper portray in *The Two Admirals*—a friendship of lonely men, largely cut off by foreign service from home ties and by their rank from much association with juniors in the same service—a friendship cemented by long association and mutual assistance and respect under conditions both of battle and of boredom.

In the *Correspondence* Collingwood is presented as the superior seaman and Nelson as the unrivaled tactician.³⁸ In *The Two Admirals* Sir Gervaise Oakes is presented as the superior seaman and Rear Admiral Bluewater as the superior tactician.³⁹ A long discussion of Collingwood’s military character on pages 54 and 55 of the *Correspondence* may well have suggested the traits which Cooper develops as a contrast between his admirals in the novel. Collingwood is presented as a strict captain of his own ship:

His perfect knowledge of all matters of seamanship, and his quick and correct eye, enabled him in an instant to discover any thing that was out of order in his ship; and his reproofs on these occasions, though always short, and conveyed in the language of a gentleman, were deeply felt; so that to many officers, and particularly to the young and careless, he was an object of dread, and was considered by all as a strict disciplinarian.⁴⁰

³² *Ibid.*, p. 66.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 539.

³⁸ P. 115.

⁴⁰ P. 54.

³³ *The Two Admirals*, p. 54.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 505-506.

³⁷ *Correspondence of Collingwood*, pp. 111-112.

³⁹ Pp. 200-201.

The above description fits Oakes in the novel very well. Even as an admiral his inquiring eye is always finding masts improperly stayed, ships out of trim, etc. He does not hesitate to administer rebukes to his less exact captains. Indeed, he is "a little of a *martinet*, exacting compliance with the most minute regulations."⁴¹ Although strict when a captain in command of his own ship, Collingwood as an admiral "made it a point of duty never to give any of those vexatious and harassing orders of which he had himself [as a captain] at times occasion to complain [from the admiral commanding]; and although he was ever solicitous that merit should be noticed and rewarded, he abstained as much as possible from interference and complaint."⁴² Bluewater is presented as this kind of admiral, in contrast to Oakes.⁴³

Undoubtedly Cooper was recalling Nelson's death when he wrote of Bluewater's. Each died from a musket ball rather than from heavy ordnance. Rear Admiral Bluewater, dying, says, "Kiss me, Oakes,"⁴⁴ just as the dying Nelson had said, "Kiss me, Hardy," to his flag captain.⁴⁵ Such behavior by hardened sea dogs is too rare for its representation in Southey's *The Life of Nelson* and Cooper's *The Two Admirals* to be merely a coincidence.

Cooper's early naval experience and his later association with officers of the Navy undoubtedly helped him somewhat in sketching the characters of Oakes and Bluewater, but the evidence given above shows his very considerable debt to the *Correspondence of Collingwood* and a minor debt to Southey's *The Life of Nelson*. Besides these unmistakable debts, *The Two Admirals* shows certain parallels to, and echoes of, the *Correspondence of Collingwood* and *The Life of Nelson*. Thus the naval operations which Cooper describes in the novel bear certain resemblances to those operations which Collingwood describes in the *Correspondence* as culminating in the Battle of the First of June, 1794.⁴⁶ In each series of operations, the French fleet leaves from a northern French port and the English fleet searches and finds it to the west and, though inferior numerically, conducts a running fight ending in a general engagement and victory for the English. Collingwood was not present at

⁴¹ *The Two Admirals*, p. 201.

⁴² *Correspondence of Collingwood*, p. 55.

⁴³ *The Two Admirals*, p. 201.

⁴⁴ *The Two Admirals*, p. 555.

⁴⁵ Robert Southey, *The Life of Nelson* (2 vols.; London, 1813), II, 262.

⁴⁶ Pp. 28-31.

the Battle of the Nile, and the *Correspondence* contains nothing of Nelson's tactics there. Cooper did, however, know Southey's account of Nelson's tactics at the Nile;⁴⁷ and though he thought the account pure fiction, he was probably influenced by Southey's clear statement of the principle of concentration of force and description of the great results which were achieved,⁴⁸ whether the merit for the concentration belonged to Nelson or to one of his captains. Certainly Oakes's successes in *The Two Admirals* are gained chiefly through his timely concentration of force.

The conflict in the novel comes from the fact that Bluewater is secretly a sympathizer with the Stuarts while Oakes is a loyal supporter of the reigning House of Hanover. This conflict may have been suggested to Cooper by the fact that two of Collingwood's ancestors were supporters of the Stuarts, one of them losing his life in the cause.⁴⁹

Dutton, the broken master of the signal station who had lost his lieutenancy through too liberal use of the bottle, was perhaps suggested by Collingwood's stricture on drinking in the naval service.⁵⁰ Lord Geoffrey Cleveland, a midshipman under the protection and tutelage of his cousin Rear Admiral Bluewater, is perhaps a result of Collingwood's statement, "I went into the Navy at a very early period of my life [when eleven years of age] . . . under the protection and care of a kind friend and relation, the late Admiral Brathwaite. . . ."⁵¹

Oakes's composure in shaving and dressing before the battle⁵² reflects Collingwood's similar composure in such occupations on the morning of Trafalgar, as told by his personal servant.⁵³ Difficulty or danger has the effect of making Oakes more calm and composed,⁵⁴ as it did Collingwood.⁵⁵ Oakes, like Nelson, wears his full decorations into battle⁵⁶—a dangerous practice in those days when actions were fought at close quarters and the enemy's tops contained

⁴⁷ Preface to *The Two Admirals*, pp. 6-8.

⁴⁸ *The Life of Nelson*, I, 221-236.

⁴⁹ *Correspondence of Collingwood*, p. 17.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁵² *The Two Admirals*, pp. 479-481.

⁵³ *Correspondence of Collingwood*, p. 103.

⁵⁴ *The Two Admirals*, p. 390.

⁵⁵ *Correspondence of Collingwood*, p. 417.

⁵⁶ *The Two Admirals*, p. 487; *The Life of Nelson*, II, 248-249.



EMERSON'S RHYMES

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THE TECHNICAL ASPECTS of Emerson's poetry have long constituted a subject for comment by biographers, literary critics, and scholars. When Oliver Wendell Holmes published his biography of the poet, he said of the irregularities of the metrics:

. . . Emerson experienced a difficulty in the mechanical part of metrical composition. . . . He made desperate work now and then with rhyme and rhythm, showing that though a born poet he was not a born singer.¹

More recently Alfred Kreyborg remarked:

Technical faults . . . are apparent on every other page. . . . One barely sets sail along a superbly sustained metre, when a tortured accent or missing foot trips the eye and ear, and a passage has to be re-read for the sake of rhythmic adjustment.²

Robert M. Gay made the following comment:

His verse . . . is spasmodic, and it contains, moreover, elementary faults of technique that Macaulay's boy of fourteen could have patched and mended—forced rhymes, arbitrary inversions, lapses of taste. . . .³

And G. E. Woodberry said, in part, of Emerson's poetry:

He was indifferent to the technical part of verse, but this was because of an incapacity or lack of gift for it; he was not careless, and his verse was brooded over, turned in his mind and re-wrought in his study; and what he published was generally the last and long deferred result of such power of expression as he was capable of; he was inartistic by necessity. . . . The technical quality of it is immaterial, and should be neglected and forgotten, as far as possible; its value lies in its original power of genius and owes little to the forms.⁴

That the "original power of genius" informing Emerson's poetry is more important than are its techniques is true. That "the technical quality of it is immaterial" is, however, doubtful. Professor

¹ *Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1884), p. 327.

² *Our Singing Strength* (New York, 1929), p. 69.

³ *Emerson: A Study of the Poet as Seer* (New York, 1928), p. 193.

⁴ *Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1907), pp. 158, 159.

Gay Wilson Allen has pointed out the fact that at times Emerson's subject matter and rhythm are interrelated.⁵ That the technical quality has not been "neglected and forgotten" is very evident.

Many scholars, to be sure, have concentrated—and rightly so—upon the sources of the ideas and theories in Emerson's poetry.⁶ Many other scholars have almost inevitably been concerned both about and with Emerson's poetic forms. The quotations given earlier are only a few evidences of the concern felt; they are, however, representative. The two aspects of technical weakness commented upon are metrics and rhyme. Professor Allen has ably discussed Emerson's metrics, with particular emphasis upon deviations from metrical forms,⁷ but Emerson's rhymes have not as yet been subjected to so careful analysis. The casual, tangential, or brief attention accorded them so far leaves one with the following impressions: (1) Emerson's irregularities were irregular (that is, inconsistent); (2) it is regrettable that, if Emerson was going to break with poetic tradition, he did not go the whole way in writing *vers libre*,⁸ and (3) Emerson used faulty rhymes of one kind or another, the seriousness of his defects apparently depending upon what dictionary one consults and to what regional pronunciation the ear of the reader is accustomed.⁹ If the rhymes of a poet of Emerson's stature are to be under attack, obviously they deserve careful examination. The purpose of this study is, therefore, to present the results of such an examination with a view to determining as precisely as possible the nature of Emerson's rhyming practices and then making some definite generalizations concerning them.

A reader can usually find in any author pretty much what he is looking for, and so Mr. Stratton detected 800 false rhymes in 237 pages of Emerson's poetry. After allowing for the poems written in blank verse, one would still probably have to admit that, on the basis of Mr. Stratton's statistics, Emerson averaged approximately

⁵ *American Prosody* (New York, 1935), p. 102.

⁶ See, e.g., F. T. Thompson, "Emerson's Theory and Practice of Poetry," *PMLA*, XLIII, 1170-1184 (Dec., 1928), and E. G. Sutcliffe, *Emerson's Theories of Literary Expression*, *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Vol. VII (1923), No. 1.

⁷ Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-121.

⁸ See, e.g., Frederic I. Carpenter, *Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1934), Introduction, pp. xli, xlii, and Thompson, *op. cit.*

⁹ Clarence Stratton, "Emerson's Rhymes," *Word Study*, Dec., 1944, pp. 2-4, and the replies to Mr. Stratton's article in *Word Study*, April, 1945, pp. 7-8.

three false rhymes to the page. This is an alarming thought, indeed, especially as Mr. Stratton also points out that "the inaccuracies occur with usual, everyday words"! The alert eye and ear can readily find an occasional very poor "rhyme" like *slimy, lion* and *Oreads, arcades*; but the first pair of words constitutes assonance (matching of vowels), and the second pair, consonance or dissonance (matching of consonants). The reader of Emerson's poetry will also discover that although the poet customarily rhymes the word *again* with words having the sound of *a* in *mate* (*vain, twain, amain, slain, remain, rain*), and consistently rhymes the word *wind* with words having the sound of *i* in *ice* (*behind, mind, kind*)—both of which are in good poetic tradition—he was inconsistent enough to rhyme *again* with *men* (cf. "Ode to Beauty" and "May-Day").

Emerson's most frequently occurring deviations from perfect rhymes fall, however, into the following three categories: the rhyming of voiced and unvoiced consonants, visual rhymes, and suspended (slant, tangential) rhymes. Representative of the first category are such pairs of words as the following: *restores, remorse; rose, dose* (noun); *wise, advice; ways, face; raise, place; crowns, renounce; haze, space; ever, Zephyr; prays, embrace; ties, vice; clans, romance; sees, peace; conveys, mace*. It is to be noted here that Emerson rhymes *surprise* with both *eyes* and *device*; also, *eyes* with *paradise* and *spices* with *paradises*. There is no consistency in such rhyming, but the reader must take into consideration the two allowable pronunciations for the word *paradise* before condemning the latter set of words.

Typical of the second category (visual rhymes) are the following: *road, broad; all, shall; sphere, everywhere, there; key, they; over, lover; woods, broods, floods; donor, honor; love, Jove, prove; brow, low; words, accords; strong, among; put, nut; leading, treading; wand, hand; fasting, hasting; own, down; door, poor*. Elsewhere, however, Emerson rhymes *door, floor* and *doors, pours*. Also to be noticed in connection with visual rhymes are such pairs of words as *deaf, leaf; enchants, wants*. They constitute visual rhymes, but they may have resulted from Emerson's pronunciation. New England pronunciation of the poet's day and even current Eastern Seaboard pronunciation have to be taken into consideration when one is examining rhymes such as we are dealing with. Other pairs

of words which may have resulted from Emerson's pronunciation are *haunted, disenchanted; vaunt, chant; obeyed, gainsaid; hearth, mirth; arms, psalms*.

By far the most frequent deviations from perfect rhyme to be found in Emerson's poetry come under the heading of suspended rhyme (matching of consonants but not of vowels in final syllables). They occur in such abundance that only typical examples can be cited. Among them are *name, beam; dame, am; stone, moon; heaven, even; cowl, soul; date, Ararat; pentecost, host* (though elsewhere *Pentecost, tossed*); *good, solitude; matter, water; sea, they; tongue, strong; year, were; moon, down; fools, dolls; cloud, god, blood; sphere, there; realm, film; ducks, flocks; stature, Nature; wit, appetite*.¹⁰ Sometimes, of course, a rhyme may be considered either visual or suspended, for example, *stature, Nature* and *sphere, there*.

Only too manifest is the fact that Emerson's poetry contains many imperfect rhymes. What has not been made equally clear to date is the fact that it also contains many pure rhymes. For illustration of the latter statement, specific poems will now be analyzed.

It seems only fair to observe, first of all, that Emerson was not incapable of composing regular stanzas, of maintaining regular rhythms, and of keeping to a regular rhyme scheme.¹¹ "The Apology," for instance, illustrates his ability to write in a conventional art form. Except for one pair of words in imperfect rhyme (*rude, wood*), the poem follows the prescribed rules for metrics: it is written in five quatrains with alternate rhyme. That the entire poem will not scan with absolute precision must be admitted; the variations, however, are neither startling nor revolutionary, since a reversed foot at the opening of a line and the interpolation of anapests in the midst of iambs are frequently found in poetry antedating Emerson's, and the practice of combining iambs with anapests was advocated by Bryant as early as 1819, in his essay "On Trisyllabic Feet in Iambic Measure."

Even more regular, however, is the famous "Brahma," also in

¹⁰ Another of Emerson's rhyming practices too insignificant for special consideration here is his preference for masculine rhymes. Sometimes he rhymed a strong monosyllable with the last syllable of a polysyllabic word; sometimes the last syllable of a polysyllabic word with a group of words: *fell, oracle; sincerity, could not free; atmosphere, waves of air*.

¹¹ Rhymes will be emphasized in this paper, but at times metrics will necessarily be included to reinforce a point.

quatrains with alternate rhymes. This poem scans almost perfectly in iambic tetrameter, and there is but one imperfect rhyme (*abode, good*). "Two Rivers" has no variations from either its iambic tetrameter or its alternate rhyme scheme.

Likewise conforming to a regular stanzaic and metrical pattern is "Merops," consisting of three stanzas in ballad form (odd lines in iambic tetrameter and even lines in iambic trimeter) with alternate lines rhyming and with only minor metrical variations, such as one reversed foot, one anapestic foot, and two lines in "feminine rhythm." Similarly, "Waldeinsamkeit" is composed with careful regard for the ballad stanza with an *a b a b* rhyme scheme (except for the ninth stanza, which has an *a b c b* rhyme scheme—allowable in the ballad tradition), a visual rhyme (*begone, lone*) in the fourth stanza, and an example of assonance (*is, this*) in the twelfth stanza.

Other poems containing a marked preponderance of perfect rhymes are "The Visit," consisting of thirty lines mainly in couplets, with a few alternate rhymes, and having only one imperfect rhyme, an example of suspension (*state, that*); "Guy," fifty lines in couplets with one suspended rhyme (*year, were*); "The Rhodora," sixteen lines (two couplets plus four lines of alternate rhyme, repeated), with *solitudes, woods* constituting the only imperfect rhyme, although there is a shift from masculine to feminine rhythm in *seeing, being*; "Webster," twenty-two lines in perfect couplet rhyme; "To Eva," two six-line stanzas (*a a b c c b*), perfect except for *upon, own*; "Holidays," in five quatrains with correct rhyme on even lines; "Thine Eyes Still Shined," in three ballad stanzas, the first rhyming *a b a b*, and the second and third, *a b c b*; "The Amulet," in three quatrains rhyming, respectively, *a b a b, a b c b, a b c b*, with the odd lines in stanza two constituting assonance.

Although "Good-Bye" has six lines in the first stanza (rhyming *a b a b a a*) and eight in the remaining three stanzas (rhyming in couplets), there is in the total number of thirty lines only one faulty rhyme—*come, home*—appearing in stanza two. (Later in the same poem, however, *home* rhymes perfectly with *Rome*.) "Mithridates" also contains stanzas of varying length, the five ranging from four to thirteen lines (with a total of thirty-two lines). Despite the uneven verse form, and the corresponding shift in rhyme scheme, the rhyming is excellent: *a b a b a, a b c b* (*a* and *c* provide assonance), *a a b b c c, a a b b c c* or *d d e e f f*.

Emerson's patriotic poems, too, are comparatively regular in both rhyme and meter. "Concord Hymn" goes along in even quatrains of iambic tetrameter with alternate rhymes which are standard except for two examples of visual rhyme (*flood, stood; stone, gone*). The "Ode" contains no serious aberrants from conventional patterns. Written in the ballad stanza, it contains two stanzas in traditional ballad rhyme (*a b c b*) and eight in alternate rhyme, the only non-standard rhymes in the latter group being *song, tongue* and *above, wove*. "Boston Hymn," again in quatrains (mainly in iambic trimeter, although the lines do not scan with marked regularity, some being in iambic tetrameter and some containing anapests), rhymes for the most part according to the traditional ballad form. The faulty rhymes are not serious: *war, more, poor* (suspended); *night, seaside* (assonance); *seas, fleece; boughs, house* (illustrating Emerson's practice of rhyming voiced and unvoiced consonants preceded by a rhyming vowel).

For the last poem to be cited illustrating Emerson's conformity to a set rhyme scheme, "Voluntaries" serves as a good example. It consists of 122 lines rhyming alternately and in couplets. In the first three stanzas, containing seventy-four lines, three pairs of suspended rhymes occur: *zone, down; God, cloud; messages, ease*. It is worthy of note at this point that the last four lines in this section constitute one of the two passages from Emerson's poetry which were singled out by Matthew Arnold for quotation and commendation, being termed by him as "exceptional":¹²

So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When Duty whispers low, *Thou must,*
The youth replies, *I can.*

It is also noteworthy that Paul Elmer More agrees with Arnold's pronouncement and then adds:

One would have to search far to find anything in English equal to them in their own kind. They have the cleanness and radiance of the couplets of Simonides. They may look easy, but as a matter of fact the ethical epigram is an extremely difficult *genre*, and to attain this union of gravity and simplicity requires the nicest art.¹³

¹² "Emerson," *Discourses in America* (1885), p. 155.

¹³ "Emerson," *Cambridge History of American Literature*, I, 359.

To revert to "Voluntaries." The fourth stanza opens with several lines rhyming very irregularly:

O, well for the fortunate soul
Which Music's wings infold,
Stealing away the memory
Of sorrows new and old!
Yet happier he whose inward sight
Stayed on his subtle thought,
Shuts his sense on toys of time,
To vacant bosoms brought.
But best befriended of the God
He who, in evil times,
Warned by an inward voice,
Heeds not the darkness and the dread.

Some of these lines rhyme alternately, and some have no rhymes at all; but it is to be noted that nonrhyming lines frequently contain alliteration (e.g., ll. 1, 6, 7) and that *sight*, *time* constitute assonance. All the remaining rhymes are standard. There are two sets of three lines rhyming (though not as triplets)—*belongs*, *songs*, *wrongs*; *sleep*, *creep*, *steep*—and the fifth stanza, consisting of seventeen lines, contains but six different rhymes, including one group of five words rhyming: *misguide*, *hide*, *abide*, *outstride*, *beside*.

In the face of such an array of evidence to the contrary, does it seem altogether fair to speak only of Emerson's "gritty rhymes" (to use Ludwig Lewisohn's term) and to say that Emerson was "in-artistic by necessity"? Obviously, Emerson was not incapable of accurate rhyming and of observing traditional metrical forms.

Other poems do, however, contain the kind of irregularities in rhyme and meter which disturb the critics. Only a few can be cited as illustrations, but they may be considered typical. There are, first of all, a relatively large number of poems which, though not exhibiting the same degree of preciseness in rhyme as the group previously discussed, contain only a few deviations each. "Each and All," for example, has a marked preponderance of pure rhymes in its fifty-one lines of couplets and alternately rhyming lines. The exceptions consist of three examples of suspended rhyme (*noon*, *Napoleon*; *heaven*, *even*; *sky*, *deity*) and two of visual rhyme (*one*, *alone*; *wreath*, *breath*). The latter could, of course, as could many visual

rhymes, be considered also suspended rhymes. "The World-Soul" contains in its fourteen eight-line stanzas, rhymed on even lines, only three exceptions to standard rhyme (*walls, intervals; key, they; sea, obey*). "Alphonso of Castile," eighty-two lines rhymed in couplets, has the following deviations: *of my blood, Adamhood; over, lover; rose, dose; wise, advice; one, grown; fellows, zealous*. Other poems which may be put into the same category are "The Sphinx," "To Rhea," "Uriel," "The Problem," "My Garden," and "To Ellen."

There is also a group of poems each of which contains many examples of imperfect rhyme. "Destiny" is illustrative. Consisting of fifty lines in couplets and alternate rhymes, with one triplet, it includes a variety of dubious rhymes. The following lines will demonstrate the types:

Surely he carries a talisman
Under his tongue;
Broad his shoulders are and strong;
And his eye is scornful,
Threatening and young.
I hold it of little matter
Whether your jewel be of pure water,
A rose diamond or a white,
But whether it dazzle me with light.
I care not how you are dressed,
In coarsest weeds or in the best;
Nor whether your name is base or brave:
Nor for the fashion of your behavior;
But whether you charm me,
Bid my bread feed and my fire warm me,
And dress up Nature in your favor.
One thing is forever good;
That one thing is Success,—
Dear to the Eumenides,
And to all the heavenly brood.
Who bides at home, nor looks abroad,
Carries the eagles, and masters the sword.

Here are to be found most of the kinds of questionable rhyme commonly appearing in Emerson's poetry: suspended (*tongue, strong; matter, water*), visual (*charm me, warm me; good, brood*), voiced and unvoiced consonants (*Success, Eumenides*), pronunciation

(*abroad, sword*). Some lines do not rhyme at all, but "Nor whether your name is base or brave" contains alliteration and assonance. If *behavior* and *favor* were intended to rhyme, they are poor; but the line ending in *favor* contains assonance in *Nature, favor*.

It seems hardly necessary to present a full analysis of such poems as the Channing "Ode," "Bacchus," "Terminus," "Threnody," "Ode to Beauty," "Fable," "Give All to Love," "Hermione," "Initial, Daemonic, and Celestial Love," "Merlin," "Woodnotes," and "May-Day." They are well known and exhibit no new variations on Emerson's rhyming practices. A few other poems, however, need scrutiny. "To J. W.," for instance, is interesting. It contains five stanzas, the first, third, and fourth of which contain four lines; the second, five lines; and the fifth, six lines. Stanza one (*a b a b*) is rhymed well, as is stanza two (*a b c b c*), in which the first line rhymes with that of stanza one. Stanza three has no rhymes, but the first line again rhymes with that of stanzas one and two, the phrasing of the line being identical in all three stanzas. Stanza four (*a a b b*) has standard rhymes and repeats in its *a* rhyme the *b* rhyme in the preceding stanza. Stanza five (*a b c b c b*) once more rhymes correctly, the first line, ending in *waste*, providing assonance with the concluding word *grave* in the first three stanzas.

"The Humble-Bee" also is deserving of analysis. Its five stanzas contain, respectively, ten, nine, twelve, twenty, and twelve lines, mainly rhymed in couplets. There are, however, some interesting variations. The last four lines in stanza one are in alternate rhyme; the last three lines in stanza two constitute a triplet; and following two stanzas entirely in couplets, stanza five opens with a couplet, has four lines rhyming alternately, and closes with three couplets. An occasional inexact rhyme occurs. Stanza three contains two suspended rhymes (*heats, violets; solitudes, underwoods*); stanza four has one suspended rhyme (*waste, passed*) and possibly a second, although *leisure, pleasure* may have resulted from Emerson's pronunciation of the word *leisure*; and stanza five contains the suspended and forced rhyme *seer, philosopher*.

As a final example I should like to discuss "Monadnoc." It consists of 417 lines, its several stanzas (or sections) varying in length. Although couplets and alternate rhymes dominate, there are two triplets and some twenty nonrhyming lines. The nonstandard

rhymes occur too frequently for a complete enumeration; but they are typical of Emerson's practices, and so a few will suffice: suspended (*flowed, abroad; breed, stead*—though later in the poem *breed* rhymes with *succeed; head, shade; shadow, meadow*); visual (*prove, Jove; words, affords; stood, flood; strong, among; breath, beneath*). Some passages will bear quoting for further illustrative purposes:

And comest thou
 To see strange forests and new snow,
 And tread uplifted land?
 And leavest thou thy lowland race,
 Here amid clouds to stand?
 And wouldst be my companion
 Where I gaze, and still shall gaze,
 Through tempering nights and flashing days,
 When forests fall, and man is gone,
 Over tribes and over times,
 At the burning Lyre,
 Nearing me,
 With its stars of northern fire,
 In many a thousand years?

These fourteen lines contain only two exact rhymes, but they have considerable alliteration and assonance. Let us look at another section:

As in the old poetic fame
 The gods are blind and lame,
 And the simular despite
 Betrays the more abounding might,
 So call not waste that barren cone
 Above the floral zone,
 Where forests starve:
 It is pure use;—
 What sheaves like those which here we glean and bind
 Of a celestial Ceres and the Muse?

Here, eight of the ten lines have standard rhyme, no attempt being made to provide rhymes for *starve* and *bind*. And, finally, one more quotation, the concluding lines of the poem:

Thou seest, O watchman tall,
 Our towns and races grow and fall,

And imagest the stable good
For which we all our lifetime grope,
In shifting from the formless mind,
And though the substance us elude,
We in thee the shadow find.
Thou, in our astronomy
An opaker star,
Seen haply from afar,
Above the horizon's hoop,
A moment, by the railway troop,
As o'er some bolder height they speed,—
By circumspect ambition,
By errant gain,
By feasters and the frivolous,—
Recallest us,
And makest sane,
Mute orator! well skilled to plead,
And send conviction without phrase,
Thou dost succor and remede
The shortness of our days,
And promise, on thy Founder's truth,
Long morrow to this mortal youth.

The inaccurate rhymes in this passage are too obvious to require pointing out, but the reason for quoting it and the preceding passage was to call attention, not so much to the irregular rhyming as to the irregular metrics. The basic metrical form is iambic tetrameter, but such variations occur as trimeter consisting of an anapestic foot followed by two iambic feet ("And the simular despise"); iambic dimeter ("Where forests starve"); iambic trimeter ("And tread uplifted land"); iambic pentameter ("What sheaves like those which here we glean and bind"); catalectic trochaic dimeter ("Nearing me"); and other irregular lines too numerous to analyze.

The point to be noted here is that frequently, though not consistently, irregularities in rhyme and meter occur together in Emerson's poetry.¹⁴ "Merlin," "Ode to Beauty," "Give All to Love," "Ode," and others illustrate the same practice. In such poems Emerson was manifestly working his way toward "free" or cadenced

¹⁴It is to be noted that the irregularities were not limited to any one period in Emerson's poetical career. "Each and All" (1839), "The Problem" (1841), "Hamatreya" (1847), and "Terminus" (1867) all show irregularities in metrics and rhyme.

verse. That he was not merely careless about or incapable of standard rhyming is disproved by the number of perfect rhymes which appear in the midst of inexact rhymes and the other now-acceptable poetic devices employed, notably assonance. Instead, therefore, of criticizing Emerson for not consistently following traditional rhyming and metrical practices, should we not rather commend him for anticipating many of those of today? No one now takes issue with Wordsworth's once seemingly "revolutionary" innovations; and Gerard Manly Hopkins's metrics are now both the admiration and the despair of practitioners in the art of poetry.

Emerson had, it seems safe to assume, no intention of following the set patterns of his predecessors. In very good "free verse" he took leave of them in "Merlin":

Thy trivial harp will never please
Or fill my craving ear;
Its chords should ring as blows the breeze,
Free, peremptory, clear. . . .
He shall not his brain encumber
With the coil of rhythm and number.

And as if realizing that he would be subject to criticism for his innovations, he wrote:

Pale genius roves alone,
No scent can track his way,
None credits him till he have shown
His diamonds to the day.

He considered himself a pioneer, therefore, and such he was. His principles, set forth mainly in his essay "The Poet," were fully put into practice by Whitman; and the example he set in rhyming is followed by such contemporary writers as John Crowe Ransom, Archibald MacLeish, Conrad Aiken, and W. H. Auden.¹⁵

¹⁵ See E. G. Sutcliffe, "Whitman, Emerson, and New Poetry," *New Republic*, XIX, 114-116 (May 24, 1919), for an interesting tracing of the poetic lineage.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PAUL ELMER MORE: A NOTE ON HIS VERSE AND PROSE WRITTEN IN YOUTH, WITH TWO UNPUBLISHED POEMS

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I

IN THE SECOND CHAPTER, "Early Life and Work," of my *Paul Elmer More and American Criticism* (1935) I briefly discussed More's first book, *Helena and Occasional Poems* (1890), and said in conclusion (pp. 65-66): "The volume" contains "nothing in the least remarkable. There is some awkwardness, some flatness; there is nothing to make one value these poems for themselves. They are worth recalling only because they give us a glimpse of Paul More's intellectual history and earliest development." Despite this verdict, and simply because of the book's inaccessibility to most readers, I reproduced several poems from it in an Appendix.

This entire chapter (with its Appendix) aroused, very naturally, the special interest of some readers, because of the light it shed on More himself in his little-known formative years. And one interested reader broadened my own knowledge of those years, and in particular buttressed what I had written about *Helena and Occasional Poems*. Towards the close of 1937 (and thus some months after More's death on March 9 of that year), I received a letter from the Reverend William Greenleaf Eliot, Jr. (a first cousin of Mr. T. S. Eliot), who had been for three years a fellow-student with More and a friend of his at Washington University, St. Louis, in the 1880's, and who inquired if I knew anything of More's writings as an undergraduate. I did not—or rather, as it turned out, I thought I did not. After a further exchange of letters, Dr. Eliot generously lent me copies from his file of the student periodical of Washington University published in the 1880's, attempted to gather information for me from several undergraduate contemporaries of his and More's, and finally made three lists of contributions to the periodical: (1) of those he could positively ascribe to More, (2) of those he considered almost certainly More's, and (3) of those he

suspected of being by More.¹ A reading of these contributions showed that the reasons for paying some heed to More's *Helena* apply equally to them; and I have after long hesitation decided to make their existence known.² In the following list Dr. Eliot's classification appears, but a chronological order is followed:

Student Life, published monthly during the university year by the students of Washington University:³

Vol. VII, No. 4, December, 1883, p. 53, opening piece, "Reverie," a poem in five four-line stanzas (3 accents) rhyming *a b c b*. W.G.E. suspects this of being by More. If he is correct, it was written early in More's freshman year. The stanzaic form is one much used by More; and style and content are immature enough for a freshman, yet distinctly in More's vein. It would be absurd—and a worse disservice to More's memory than anything else in the present article—to reprint the poem; but I believe More wrote it.

Vol. VII, No. 9, May, 1884, pp. 135-136, "Fantasia," imaginative prose. Fantasia is a girl, a lover of nature. The author watched her grow to young womanhood, loved her; then she committed suicide by jumping into a flooded stream—whereat the stream froze with horror. W.G.E. suspects this of being by More. It is not quite as foolish as a summary makes it appear, and the sentimental theme is characteristic of this period; still, I do not believe More wrote it.

Vol. VIII, No. 5, January, 1885, p. 71, opening piece, "A Memory," a poem in ten six-line stanzas (4 accents) rhyming *a a b c c b*. W.G.E. suspects this of being by More, but I disagree. W.G.E. also suspects that an essay, "Is History Historical?" (pp. 71-73), in this issue is by More. It begins with a quotation from Chamfort, and proceeds most unremarkably to the conclusion that a "golden mean" should be pursued in historical research. It seems to me impossible to determine whether or not More wrote this; but from neither piece in this issue could one, in any event, learn anything of the least significance concerning More's development.

¹ As this classification makes obvious, contributions were printed without authors' names. No records exist at Washington University in which authors' names are preserved.

² One reason for doing so is that one or two people in time learned that this material was in my hands; and that mention of P.E.M.'s undergraduate writings was made in Mr. Malcolm Young's *Paul Elmer More: A Bibliography* (Princeton, 1941), which rendered it inevitable that sooner or later someone would attempt to ferret them out.

³ Dr. Eliot had three duplicates among the issues he lent me, and these he allowed me to keep. They have now been deposited in his name in the Library of Princeton University.

Vol. VIII, No. 7, March, 1885, pp. 104-106, "John Milton," prose narrative, with some critical remarks. W.G.E. suspects this of being by More, and calls attention to the concluding paragraph:

We must bring to the reading of Milton much greatness of spirit. The author of this article must confess that while reading the works of this great and good man he was supremely impressed with the majesty and dignity which surrounds goodness joined to wisdom.

I am unable to form a decided opinion, except that it makes no difference whether the article is from More's hand or not.

Vol. VIII, No. 8, April, 1885, p. 119, opening piece, "Cuidam," Latin elegiac couplets, as follows:

Nunc iterum mentem tibi carae animumque libenter
 Arcesso ex studiis, cum quasi amore dei
 Tellus saeva susurro blandiloquentis et osculis
 Veris mollitur, cumque simul speciens
 Circa cuncta venusta ita cor mihi carpitur igni
 Ut tu bella oculis atque pudicitia
 Dulci naturam tuam amicta velut rosa odore
 Tu sis somnium ei noctis itemque die.
 Audi, spes mea, me; rationem temporis edam.
 Usque libris vetitis tamdiu ego immorior
 Summa vi latitantia luci arcana petessens:—
 Sed vae mi fatuo; talia mystica jam
 Mundi mortua sunt, e cunctis morte relictæ!
 Luna superne et sol lumina dant eadem,
 Sidera signifero candentia in orbe feruntur;
 Ast ubi cantus eorum? — Omnia muta silent:
 Muta silent, atque amplius haud jam carmine vafro
 Atra revelatur fabula ab his Cybeles:
 Astra per auras aetherias noscentia totum
 Semper labuntur, nec tamen hasce cient
 Ut priscum horrescant scelus exitiabile paci:—
 Oblitæ vocis signa vetusta ferae.
 Est bene sic; mysteria enim sunt turpia dictu,
 Atque silenda infanda immo cavenda homini:
 Est bene sic; sum vana sequendo somnia fessus;
 Tempus amando vita, omnia læta fuant!
 Et rursus tibi me, velut ex algore viator
 Terras ad solis, cum lacrimis refero

In me gaudens sed fugitivus humillimus orans
 Ut nixus genibus,—Da mihi da veniam:
 Cor vinclis tui amoris amans circum mihi stringam,
 Ponderis ut puro stella ligaminibus
 Caelo vincta micans. Adeo jam hæc basia jacto;
 Mox tecum puero, reddere nonne voles?⁴

W.G.E. is "almost certain" that these verses were written by More, as I am also. W.G.E. does not ask, "Who else could have been the author?"—but the printing of "Cuidam" was thought sufficiently remarkable at the time to require editorial assurances, and on page 125 of this issue appear the following paragraphs (reproduced literally):

The Latin poem "Cuidam," occurring in this issue of STUDENT LIFE, is from the pen of a student of the University, and we trust that

⁴ Several obvious misprints have been silently corrected; but one mistake (*immorior*, l. 10) has been allowed to stand, because the verse will not scan if *immoror* (the word evidently demanded) is substituted. Monsignor Charles E. Spence of St. Gregory Seminary, Cincinnati, has shaken his head over this poem, but has nevertheless kindly made the following translation for me, which serves as a more than sufficient commentary. Grammatically the poem is not incorrect, Monsignor Spence informs me, but other liberties besides the impossible use of *immorior* for *immoror* are taken for the sake of scansion; heavy reliance on a gradus is suspected; and sense is strained or, conspicuously at one point, lacking.

TO A LADY

Now once again I gladly summon my heart and my mind from study to think of thee, my dear, when, as it were, from love of God, the savage earth is softened by the whisper and the kisses of gentle-voiced spring, and when, beholding all lovely things around me, my heart is so enkindled that thou, in the beauty of thy eyes and thy chastity, clad in thy nature like a rose in its sweet fragrance, art my heart's dream day and night.

Listen to me, my hope; I will set forth the reckoning of my time. So long have I been lingering over forbidden books; seeking with all my power for secret knowledge that shuns the light: . . . Ah me, fool that I am; such mysteries of the universe are long since dead, abandoned by death out of all things! The moon on high and the sun give their light alike, the shining stars glide on in their constellation-studded sphere; but where is their song? All are mute and silent; all are mute and silent, and no longer now do they tell the mournful tale of Cybele in artful strain; the stars that know the whole glide always through the upper air, and yet they do not compel it to shudder at the original crime that has destroyed our peace; forgotten are the ancient, wild-voiced stars.

'Tis well that it is so; for the mysteries are things too shameful to be spoken; and these unutterable mysteries should not be mentioned, nay, should be shunned by mortals. 'Tis well that it is so; I am weary, seeking empty dreams; life is the time for love, let all things be joyful!

And I come back to thee in tears, like a traveller from icy climes returning to sun-drenched lands, rejoicing within me, but still a fugitive, praying most humbly, as one on bended knees—Grant me, ah grant me pardon: I shall bind fast my loving heart with the chains of thy love, even as a star twinkling in the clear sky is bound with the chains of gravity. For the present I waft to thee these kisses. Wilt thou not return them to thy lad, who is soon to be with thee?

some of the students, at least, will read it. The theme is old, but it is one which never fails to strike a responsive chord in every heart.

We congratulate the author for his effort and hope that this will not be the last from his classic pen.

Vol. IX, No. 4, December, 1885, p. 49, opening piece, "The Sweet Singer," a poem in ten four-line stanzas. W.G.E. suspects this of being by More, and is correct; for, to my very great surprise, I found that this poem and two others from subsequent issues (to be listed below) were chosen by More for inclusion in *Helena and Occasional Poems*. The present poem appears on pages 53-55 of *Helena* under a new title, "The Haunted Tower," with an added stanza (between the sixth and the remaining four), with six revisions in wording, and with eight changes in punctuation.

W.G.E. also suspects that More was the author of a prose piece, "A Medley," on pages 53-55 of this issue. The one reason I can see for such ascription is that the author shows reading more likely in More than in other students of the time.

Vol. IX, No. 8, April, 1886, p. 125, opening contribution, a group of three "Songs." W.G.E. is "almost certain" that these were written by More. And they were; as the first of the three appears, without change, under the title "An Oriole's Nest" on page 56 of *Helena and Occasional Poems*.

Vol. IX, No. 9, May, 1886, opening contribution, a group of five "Songs." W.G.E. correctly identifies these as certainly by More. The second song appears, with two changes in wording, one in punctuation, and one in spelling, under the title "O Limpid Pool" on page 57 of *Helena and Occasional Poems* (and is reprinted in Appendix A of my book, page 299).

Vol. IX, No. 10, June, 1886, p. 165, a poem entitled "Anacreontic." W.G.E. identifies this as certainly by More.

But yesterday I wandered
Alone into a forest,
Thinking to leave behind me
My silly love and longing.
Full gay the birds were warbling;
Full fair the flowers were blooming:
The birds, I said, are timid,
And never may I catch them;

But sure the flowers are sweeter—
 I'll cull these very roses.
 But lo, I found among them
 A tiny urchin plucking
 The thorns that grew the sharpest.
 My little man, I prythee,
 Why gather barren prickles?
 Alack! the surly urchin
 Turned quickly on me, seizing
 His bow: With thorns of roses,
 He said, I tip my arrows;
 When Cupid aims—oh, fairly—
 He shot and tripped off laughing.

On page 171 of this issue there is an announcement of More's election to the presidency of the *Student Life Association*.

Vol. X, No. 2, October, 1886, p. 19, the following poem positively identified by W.G.E. as More's:

To Mrs. Grover Cleveland
 (On Seeing Her Picture in Harper's Bazaar)

Unconscious bride of Fortune! I, who dwell
 Remote and buried in the simple crowd,
 Would be a simple voice to cry aloud
 Across the continent to thee, and tell
 How queenly fair we deem thee, and how well
 The crown becomes thy brow. O be thou proud
 In tender grace, whilst gathering tempests shroud
 The State's horizon and the murmurs swell
 Of many fretful winds, to be a sign
 Like as the gentle moon o'er storms above,—
 An emblem to the world that peace and love
 And beauty, in its infinite design
 Of calm repose and sweet content, are strong
 To bind our hearts and win them from the wrong.

The rhyme scheme of the first eight lines is identical with that used by More in the sonnets on pages 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, and 78 of *Helena*; but in these the last six lines are rhymed *c d c d c d*, and in all save one (p. 74) there is a full stop at the end of the eighth line.

Vol. X, No. 4, December, 1886, pp. 51-53, a prose piece, "Quasi Deus," written as a reply to an article, "The Idea of God," by

W.G.E., which had appeared on pages 35-38 of the November issue of *Student Life* (X, 3). W.G.E. is "almost certain" that this was by More; and there can in fact be no doubt of it. The piece is very "learned," with untranslated Latin and German quotations (the latter all from Goethe's *Faust*); and is written in a youthful high-falutin style. All the outward marks would be in More's character at this time; but the determining mark is the substance of the argument, which foreshadows much to be found in More's later writings, particularly in the first six volumes of the *Shelburne Essays*. Though unimportant indeed in any other way, still, this is the earliest of More's writings in which he shows signs of finding himself.

Vol. X, No. 7, March, 1887, p. 114, a poem, "An Apostrophe," in five four-line stanzas, rhyming *a b a b*. W.G.E. positively identifies this as by More.

Vol. X, No. 10, June, 1887. On pages 158-159 appears a Report of the University Commencement of June 9. More was the only member of the graduating class to receive the degree of A.B. *cum laude*. He pronounced the second oration of the evening. All we are told is, that "P. E. More delivered, in an easy conversational manner, his oratory on 'Astrology.' The subject matter was good and his delivery excellent."

Only one thing need be added in conclusion. I had it from More himself that, as I said in my book (p. 65), he selected for *Helena and Occasional Poems* only "a tiny fraction . . . of the verse he had written before 1890." New light is shed on what must have been the quality of this verse, and on More's own consciousness of ill-success, by the discovery that three poems in the slender volume date from his undergraduate years and were reprinted from the pages of *Student Life*.

II

Louis Trenchard More (1870-1944; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University), younger brother of Paul More, became Professor of Physics in the University of Cincinnati in 1900, and held that position (as well as, later, others) until his retirement in 1940. The first of the two poems printed below shows that L.T.M. was early headed for a career in science—not, it should perhaps be added, because of any interest or aptitude he had shown, but simply because all members

of the family were agreed that Paul was to become a man of letters and that *therefore* L.T.M. must become a man of science.

L.T.M. informed me, several years after Paul More's death, that the "Helena" of More's first book was really a Miss Clara Gardiner of St. Louis, with whom More fancied himself to be in love. I wrote in my book (p. 66) that More's verse "read too much like pieces written for practice," but that I was confident of the falsity of this impression. L.T.M. confirmed this confidence.

L.T.M. also informed me that the young woman to whom letters printed in *The Great Refusal* (1894), Paul More's second book, were originally addressed was a Miss Sadie Brank, the daughter of a Presbyterian clergyman, whom More had met through her brother, a student at the Smith Academy while More was a teacher there. Miss Brank is said to have been strikingly beautiful; and L.T.M. told me I understated the case when I wrote (p. 70) that his brother "believed himself to be in love" with her. He said, indeed, that this was the one true and overwhelming love that Paul More ever felt for any woman. Miss Brank, however, married another; and was afterwards seen by Paul More only once, many years later.

L.T.M. thought it proper that I should make public the information given above and also sanctioned the printing of the two following poems by Paul More, written on blank pages of books presented to him by his brother. The first is written on the front fly leaf of a copy of *Helena and Occasional Poems* and is dated "Oct. 7, 1890":

Thy Science leads thee thro' the hidden ways,
Where to the inquiring mind the God displays
The rule and method of his mighty work,
And balanced forces that it all obeys.

Yet still remember, in thy bolder part,
How I have dared to search the human Heart,
And in the dark ways of that world have learned
The rule and method of my mortal Art.

O Brother, if our Love be thus profound,
Linking my inner with thy world around—
Why then, together we may build our Fate,
Complete and fairer than alone were found.

The second is written on the blank page facing the title page of the "Golden Treasury" edition of Tennyson's *In Memoriam* (1890) and is dated "April 9, 1891" (the book being, as is said in the poem, a twenty-first birthday gift):

This greatest poem of our tongue,
 Within these long two hundred years,
 Wherein our human hopes and fears
 With love of man to man are sung,
 Take now to-day thy boyhood ends;
 And if too soon our ways must part,
 This record carry near thy heart
 Of friendly love twixt more than friends.

Perchance in after days may come,
 Aroused by these regretful rhymes,
 Remembrance of our love, and times
 Contented in our "Stabulum";
 The lamp that wore away the night,
 The many books along the wall,
 The littered table, and withal
 The love that made our study light.

Possibly all that needs to be said of these two poems is that Paul More wrote them, and did so when he was no longer a youth. He was slow in finding where his talent lay; but at least he was soon to realize that he had not been born a lyric poet.

A NOTE ON THE BACKGROUND OF *BILLY BUDD*

NEWTON ARVIN

Smith College

A FEW YEARS AGO, in an article in *American Literature*, Mr. Charles R. Anderson showed that the theme of *Billy Budd* had been suggested to Melville by the revival of interest, in the eighties, in the tragic case of Midshipman Philip Spencer and the brig *Somers*.¹ In 1842 young Spencer, the son of the Secretary of War under Tyler, had been executed on the *Somers*, along with two other men, a boatswain's mate and a seaman, for alleged mutiny—the informer on Spencer and the others having been Lieutenant Guert Gansevoort, the executive officer of the brig and a first cousin

¹ "The Genesis of *Billy Budd*," *American Literature*, XII, 329-346 (Oct., 1940).

of Melville's. As Mr. Anderson pointed out, Gansevoort had played "a leading and somewhat ambiguous role" in the affair, and at least some sympathizers with young Spencer, including Fenimore Cooper, who wrote a brochure on the subject, were disposed to regard Lieutenant Gansevoort as hardly less culpable than the severe Captain Mackenzie. According to one version of the tale of the *Somers*, published in the *American Magazine* for June, 1888, a few months before Melville began *Billy Budd*, Lieutenant Gansevoort had not only informed Captain Mackenzie of the suspected crime in the first place but, when he found that Mackenzie was at first disposed to treat the subject lightly, "replied calmly that he fully realized the importance attached to every word he uttered, and at once laid before his superior some astounding information imparted to him by Mr. Hieskell, the purser."²

A small but revealing beam of light is thrown on the case, and particularly on Guert Gansevoort's involvement in it, by a passage in the *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed*.³ In December, 1842, according to his own account, Weed arrived in Philadelphia on his way to Washington, a few days after the brig *Somers* had reached New York harbor at the end of her tragic cruise. In Philadelphia the New York politico, long a friend of the Gansevoort family in Albany,⁴ encountered a cousin of Guert Gansevoort's, another young naval officer, Passed Midshipman Gansevoort. From him, in conversation, Weed obtained the following account of the case as given to his young cousin only the night before by the unhappy Lieutenant. Guert Gansevoort, it should be said, had presided at the court of inquiry on the *Somers*.

After the witnesses had all been examined, "I," said Lieutenant Gansevoort to Midshipman Gansevoort, "went on deck and informed

² H. D. Smith, "The Mutiny on the *Somers*," *American Magazine*, VIII, 109-114 (May, 1888). I am indebted to Eleanor Melville Metcalf for the information that Guert Gansevoort (1812-1868) was a son of Melville's uncle, Leonard H. Gansevoort.

³ *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed*, ed. Harriet A. Weed (Boston, 1883), pp. 515-519.

⁴ Melville himself was very probably acquainted with Thurlow Weed. At any rate, a letter to his uncle, Peter Gansevoort, dated March 20, 1861, from New York, reads in part: "Upon inquiring for Mr. Weed at the Astor this morning, I find the bird flown back to his perch—Albany." He goes on to say that he is writing a note to Weed and requests his uncle to second this by a note of his own (*Family Correspondence of Herman Melville* . . . , ed. Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York, 1929, p. 17). On this occasion Melville was en route to Washington as an office seeker. It is not impossible that, at some time during those many years, he had discussed the case of the *Somers* with the old Whig statesman, but this is of course merely speculative.

Captain Mackenzie that the testimony was not as strong as had been represented to him, and that I thought from the indications the court did not attach much importance to it. Captain Mackenzie replied that the witnesses had not been thoroughly examined, and directed me to recall them, and put certain interrogations to them, a copy of which he handed to me. I returned and complied with this request, but elicited nothing more specific than the first examination had brought out. Some general conversation after the conclusion of the testimony satisfied me that the court was not prepared to convict the accused. I again repaired to the deck, and expressed my opinion to Captain Mackenzie, who replied that it was evident these young men had wholly misapprehended the nature of the evidence, if they had not also misapprehended the aggravated character of the offense, *and that there would be no security for the lives of officers or protection to commerce if an example was not made in a case so flagrant as this* [my italics]. It was my duty, he urged, to impress these views upon the court. I returned and did, by impressing these considerations, obtain a reluctant conviction of the accused." Passed Midshipman Gansevoort, who gave me this startling narrative, sailed the next day in a United States brig, which, with all on board, was engulfed at sea.⁵

If, as seems extremely likely, Melville later heard a similar version of the inquiry from Guert Gansevoort's own lips, it is not difficult to imagine that such a narrative would have lingered in his memory at the time when he was writing Chapter XVIII of *Billy Budd*—the chapter in which Captain Vere enjoins the members of his drumhead court, especially the "first lieutenant," who had taken "judicial primacy," not to listen to "the heart within you," but to consider only the dangerous effects of clemency in such a case, and in time of war, on naval discipline generally.⁶

In any event, Thurlow Weed proceeds in his memoirs to allege that, filled with compassion for the bereaved family of young Spencer, he made an effort in Washington and, later, at the court of inquiry at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, to make use of Guert Gansevoort's narrative in the interest of a severe judgment on Captain Mackenzie, but that, owing to political coolness between them, he was unable to obtain the ear of the elder Spencer. Months passed, and then in the summer of 1843, in Boston, Weed encountered Lieutenant Gansevoort himself, whom he at once invited to dine with him at the Tremont House.

⁵ Weed, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

⁶ *Billy Budd (Works)*, London, 1924, Vol. XIII, pp. 78-90.

At dinner [he says] the sad fate of his kinsman [Midshipman Gansevoort] was spoken of, when I remarked that I had passed the evening with him previous to his sailing from Philadelphia, adding that we sat gossiping over our hot whiskey punch into the small hours. The lieutenant, with evident surprise, asked, with emphasis, "Did he tell you that I passed the previous night with him?" I answered in the affirmative. He said, "What else did he tell you?" I replied, with equal emphasis, "He told me all that you said to him about the trial of Spencer." Whereupon he looked thoughtfully a moment, then drank off his champagne, seized or raised the bottle, again filled his glass and emptied it, and without further remark, left the table.

I did not see him again for seven years,—seven years which had told fearfully upon his health and habits. In the last years of his life, when he was stationed at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, then a sad wreck of his former self, he came frequently to see me, but was always moody, taciturn, and restless. In my conversations with him I never again referred to this affair, nor do I know that he ever spoke of it to others. But I do know that a bright, intelligent, high principled, and sensitive gentleman, and a most promising officer of the navy, spent the best part of his life a prey to unavailing remorse for an act the responsibility of which belonged to a superior officer.⁷

The impression we get here of Guert Gansevoort's demeanor after the tragedy confirms the portrait of his cousin (under the name of "Tom Tight") that Melville sketched in "Bridegroom Dick," one of the poems included in *John Marr*:

And Tom, he would say, when the mousers would try him,
And with cup after cup o' Burgundy ply him:
"Gentlemen, in vain with your wassail you beset,
For the more I tipple, the tighter [i. e., the more non-commun-
icative!] I get."
No blabber, no, not even with the can—
True to himself and loyal to his clan.⁸

There is one more touch in Thurlow Weed's narrative that strongly suggests a passage in *Billy Budd* and tempts one to speculate on the possibility of Melville's having heard of it from his cousin or possibly from Weed himself. "It is obvious," says Weed, "from the narrative which I have now given, that there was no

⁷ Weed, *op. cit.*, pp. 518-519.

⁸ *John Marr and Other Sailors (Works, Vol. XVI)*, p. 212.

necessity for or justice in the execution of the alleged mutineers, one of whom [Elisha] Small,⁹ *a great favorite with the crew* [my italics], exclaimed, 'God bless the flag!' at the moment he was run up to the yard-arm."¹⁰ This touch could hardly be more reminiscent than it is of the most famous single sentence in *Billy Budd*: "At the penultimate moment, his words, his only ones, words wholly unobstructed in the utterance, were these—'God bless Captain Vere!'"¹¹

It would be absurd and uncritical to urge that the character of Captain Vere is "based" on that of Melville's unfortunate cousin. In the creation of that character, however, Melville can hardly have been unaffected by his memory of Guert Gansevoort's painful dilemma, his division between professional obligation and humane feeling, his inner struggles at the time, and his sufferings then and afterward.

POE'S "THE SLEEPER" AND MACBETH

WILLIAM B. HUNTER, JR.

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THE OPENING of "The Sleeper," one of Poe's most widely known poems, contains a reference to moon vapor which must have haunted every reader. The lines run as follows:

At midnight, in the month of June,
I stand beneath the mystic moon.
An opiate vapor, dewy, dim,
Exhales from out her golden rim,
And, softly dripping, drop by drop,
Upon the quiet mountain top,
Steals drowsily and musically
Into the universal valley.

The stanza continues with description of a ghostly, foggy scene of flowers, a ruin, and a lake, and ends with the mysterious sleeping Irene. Of the gloomy atmosphere two recent editors say that "The unpoetic basis of Poe's poem is the superstition that moonlight and

⁹ The name of the seaman occurs in the account of the case given in *The United States Navy. Academy*, by Park Benjamin (New York, 1900), p. 136. In alluding to the Somers case in *Billy Budd* (*Works*, XIII, 90), Melville mistakenly remarks that "two petty officers" of the Somers were hanged along with the Midshipman. One of the two, Samuel Cromwell, was in fact the boatswain's mate, but the other, Elisha Small, was a plain "seaman."

¹⁰ Weed, *op. cit.*, p. 519.

¹¹ *Billy Budd*, p. 102.

night air have a blasting and deadly effect upon sleepers exposed to them."¹ I want to suggest, however, that the image of the mystic moon dripping an opiate vapor stems from the rather more exciting material of lunar poison in one of the witch scenes of *Macbeth*.²

Modern editors agree that Act III, scene v, is an interpolation. Hecate speaks most of it; she asserts that Macbeth is coming in order "to know his destiny." She meanwhile is

for th'air. This night I'll spend
Unto a dismal and a fatal end.
Great business must be wrought ere noon.
Upon the corner of the moon
There hangs a vap'rous drop profound. (ll. 20-24)

She goes on to say that she plans to make "artificial sprites" of it to trap Macbeth. It would require a close reader to catch the significance of lunar poison from these lines. But in Steevens's *Variorum*, 1793, it was for the first time annotated thus:

This vaporous drop seems to have been meant for the same as the *virus lunare* of the ancients, being a foam which the moon was supposed to shed on particular herbs, or other objects, when strongly solicited by enchantment. Lucan introduces Erictho using it: 'et virus large lunare ministrat.'—*Pharsalia*, Bk. VI, 666.

Such an abstruse and necromantic idea would hardly have failed to interest Poe; the "vaporous drop" may well even be the verbal source of the "opiate vapor."³

If it is true that Poe's "mystic moon" is dripping poison upon

¹ H. M. Jones and E. E. Leisy (eds.), *Major American Writers* (rev. ed.; New York, 1945), p. 715.

² Poe seems to have borrowed seldom from Shakespeare. See Killis Campbell, *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1917), Introduction, p. lii.

³ There may be additional verbal parallels: Irene lies "with her Destinies"; Macbeth will "come to know his destiny," l. 17. In the earlier version entitled "Irene" and printed in the *Poems* of 1831, the moon "hums" its questions "within her ear" (l. 25); in III, vi, "The cloudy messenger turns me his back/And hums." Furthermore, at the end of scene iv Lady Macbeth tells her husband, "You lack the season of all natures, sleep"; Irene is sleeping in death. It is in this scene, too, that Banquo's ghost makes its appearance at the banquet; in "The Sleeper" Poe refers to shadows "Like ghosts" and prays that Irene

"may lie
Forever with unopened eye,
While the pale sheeted ghosts go by!"

Finally, scene v and Poe's poem have a similar verse form. Individually such echoes amount to little, but in the aggregate they strongly suggest that Poe had been reading the play before turning to the poem.

the landscape, this fact helps explain the flora which add so greatly to the gloomy atmosphere of the first stanza: the rosemary upon the grave and the floating lily are Poe's equivalent for the unnamed herbs which receive the *virus lunare*. Is it then true that the "I" of the poem who prays that Irene may sleep forever is the man who has drawn the poison down? Some sort of repentant and self-tortured sadist? The poem neither supports nor denies such an interpretation.

Another interesting question may be mentioned. May Poe have picked up the notion directly from Lucan⁴ or have taken the trouble to follow back Steevens's reference? It does not appear likely, since the original shows that the lunar poison is shed during an eclipse. Finally, is it possible to discover what copy of Shakespeare Poe used? Apparently not, for the note was widely reprinted; other editions added nothing. For instance, it would have been available in 1831 in at least the following volumes: Steevens (1793), Reed's Steevens (1803 and 1813), Johnson-Steevens *Macbeth* (1807), Reed (New York, 1821), Malone (1821), and Singer (1826).⁵ There may well have been other editions which carried the note.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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J. B. H.

As translated by Nicholas Rowe in *The British Poets* (Chiswick, 1822), C, 35:

"when earth's envious interposing shade
Cuts off her beamy brother [the sun] from her aid:
Held by the charming song [of Erichtho], she [the moon] strives in vain,
And labours with the long pursuing pain;
Till down, and downward still, compelled to come,
On hallow'd herbs she sheds her fatal foam."

⁵ I am indebted for help in making this study to a grant from the Carnegie Foundation Research Program and Wofford College.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- A Critical Biography of William Ellery Channing, D.D. Arthur W. Brown (Syracuse).
- A Critical Biography of George William Curtis. Charles C. Chadbourn (Syracuse).
- Hawthorne's Philosophy and Its Backgrounds. Benjamin Cohen (Indiana).
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- Sinclair Lewis as a Satirist. Leonard Feinberg (Illinois, 1947).
- The Development of Libraries in Southern State Universities to 1920. Benjamin E. Powell (Chicago, Library Science, 1947).
- Some Letters of Thomas Hughes to James Russell Lowell: A Chapter in Anglo-Americana. Ada B. Nisbet (California, Los Angeles, 1947).
- Archibald MacLeish: A Study in His Art and Ideas. Viola S. Wendt (Wisconsin, 1947).
- Herman Melville and Primitivism. James R. Baird (Yale, 1947).
- A History of Music-Imagery in European Literature with Special Emphasis on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century English, American, and French Literature. Frances P. Hulme (Minnesota, Fine Arts, 1947).
- Place Names in the English and Scottish Popular Ballads and Their American Variants. Winthrop E. Richmond (Ohio State, 1947).
- A Critical Edition of the Letters of Edgar Allan Poe. John W. Ostrom (Virginia, 1947).
- The Expanding Range of the Poetic Function in American Democracy. Eric W. Carlson (Boston, 1947).
- The Place of Poetry: Theories of Poetic Value in the Formalist Literary Criticism of England and the United States, 1908 to the Present. Bernard I. Duffey (Ohio State, 1947).

Percival Pollard, *Precursor of the Twenties*. George Kummer (New York, 1947).

The Prose Fiction Theories of William Gilmore Simms. Raymond C. Palmer (Indiana, 1947).

A Comparative Study between Certain Concepts and Principles of Modern Psychology and the Writings of John Steinbeck. Eugene L. Freel (New York, 1947).

An Historical Study of the Growth of the Theater in Southern California. Sue W. Earnest (Southern California, Fine Arts, 1947).

An Historical Study of Theatrical Entertainment in Virginia City, Nevada. William C. Miller (Southern California, Fine Arts, 1947).

A History of the Theater in Detroit, Michigan, from the Beginnings to 1862. Elaine E. McDavitt (Michigan, Fine Arts, 1947).

The Rise of Realism in American Drama and Theater. David W. Thompson (Cornell, 1947).

A Study of Comedy in the American Theater Represented in the Productions of Native Comedy in New York City from 1900 to 1920. Delwin B. Dusenbury (Minnesota, 1947).

Thoreau and the Classics. Ethel Seybold (Yale, 1947).

Travel Literature of Colonists in America, 1754-1783: An Annotated Bibliography with an Introduction and an Author Index. Ruth Henline (Northwestern, 1947).

Utopus Discovers America; or, Critical Realism in the American Utopian Novel, 1798-1900. Ellene Ransom (Vanderbilt, 1947).

George Washington as a Character in Drama. Samuel Shirk (Pennsylvania, 1948).

IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED:

A Bibliography of English Travel Literature in Nineteenth-Century America. Ada B. Nisbet (California, Los Angeles).

Peter Parley's History on the Basis of Geography. Bernard Cohen (Indiana).

Poe and Gothic Romance. Dorothy Hockey (Western Reserve).

Stephen Crane: A Critical Biography. Melvin H. Schoberline (Johns Hopkins).

V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Louis Wann, University of Southern California, is writing a cultural history of the Pacific Coast and will welcome correspondence from anyone engaged in a similar study of another section of the country that has not been previously announced.

Melvin H. Schoberline's critical biography of Stephen Crane (see IV above) will be published by Alfred A. Knopf.

William R. Taylor, Amherst College, is preparing a critical biography of the American sculptor, Horatio Greenough, and will appreciate correspondence with other students who have access to privately owned collections on Greenough.

The Index to Early American Periodical Literature at New York University is being reorganized under the direction of Nelson F. Adkins. American magazines, especially of a literary and cultural character, have been covered with reasonable thoroughness up to 1850, with a scattering of material after that date. Transcripts of bibliographical data are made at the rate of 2½ cents per card. Those desiring to consult the Index in person should give advance notice of their intention. All communications regarding the Index should be addressed to the Director of Libraries, New York University, Washington Square, New York.

See announcement of "Doctoral Dissertations in American Literature, 1933-1948" on page 58 above.

LEWIS LEARY
Bibliographer

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE NOTEBOOKS OF HENRY JAMES. Edited by F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock. New York: Oxford University Press. 1947. xxviii, 425 pp. \$6.00.

Despite their chattiness and uneven distribution of fact, the Prefaces which Henry James prepared for the New York Edition of his *Novels and Tales* have been accepted as containing relatively complete "stories of his stories." The present volume occasionally corrects and so fully amplifies our knowledge of how that author developed his "germs" and suggestions into the plots for his narratives that it immediately supplants the admired Prefaces as the basic source of information on the subject. And, of course, the question of how James went about writing his Introductions is clarified by a perusal of *The Notebooks*, for they were, naturally, one of his chief sources.

Nine volumes of memoranda have been reproduced—all that appear to have survived, and, except for a few inconsequential jottings, they have been printed in their entirety, although a few passages have been shifted from their position in the manuscript to assume their rightful place in a chronological order. At the end of the volume are printed also three "projects" which have an important bearing upon James's processes of construction: "The 'K. B.' Case and 'Mrs. Max,'" an outline and part of a draft for a story never finished and dating from 1909-1910; notes for *The Sense of the Past*; and, most important of all, the outline of the plot of *The Ambassadors* submitted to the Harpers in 1900 and hitherto published only in part. As early as 1873 James referred to a notebook which he had "at last set up," but the earliest one that survives begins in November, 1878, with a preliminary sketch of *Confidence*. From that time on to May, 1911, we have in the present volume a presumably complete record of his surviving entries as they deal with his plots and outlines. All of the finished novels and almost all of his short stories of that long period are here to be seen in the process of incubation. The most extensive notes are those dealing with *The Spoils of Poynton*, which, it is of interest to note, he once called "The House Beautiful"; and the elaborate care with which he plotted that story will be a source of satisfaction to such critics as have considered it the best short novel in James's later manner.

For the ardent Jamesian and for the student of the technique of fiction, *The Notebooks* offer an opportunity to observe, as has never before been possible, the fascinating business of wiggling ideas, often grasped inse-

curely "by the tail," shaping themselves in the author's mind—with a change here, another there, or, more rarely, a forthright following of early directions. General conclusions on the methods whereby James contrived his fiction are succinctly set forth by the editors in a portion of the Introduction (pp. xiii ff.), and the value of their commentary is naturally very great, for Mr. J. W. Beach, who has hitherto said the best word on the subject, in *The Method of Henry James*, was not possessed of the copious data with which Messrs. Matthiessen and Murdock have been blessed. After each outline or suggestion which James wrote down they have also supplied the reader with information as to the eventual outcome of the plot, if, as in most cases, it ultimately appeared in a published story. As we have known from the Prefaces, most of James's *données* came from ideas picked up in conversation, but now we know more definitely who some of the people were from whose talk he netted his gems: for example, Fanny Kemble, who seems to have been a veritable fount of inspiration, Lady Stanley, Maude Elliot, William and Alice James, and even Henry Adams. We also see more clearly how he derived suggestions from his reading. Daudet, for instance, furnished many an idea, and De Maupassant constantly came to mind as a model of concision as James tried in vain to reduce his stories to the length of a *conte*. Even obscure books gave suggestions in one way or another, like Lepel H. Griffin's *The Great Republic*, which stimulated the conception of "The Modern Warning." James's worry over names for characters, which we have previously glimpsed in the notes for *The Ivory Tower*, is also fully revealed in the notebooks, and a portion of their pages consists merely of lists which he stored up for future use. They contain, in addition, a few memories of Cambridge which were later used in *The American Scene*, but for the most part are confined to memoranda for fiction. There is, however, one series of jottings, started in 1881 (pp. 23-45), which is of more general interest. It is, in fact, a most important analysis of the author's purposes during the preceding six years and is such a remarkable piece of autobiography that one is forced to regret the fact that, except for a very few brief entries, there is nothing like it elsewhere in the notebooks.

Primarily, then, this is a volume for the student of James's methods of composition—the best one. In Introduction, commentary, and editorial procedures it is, as may be expected, thoroughly competent.

Duke University.

CLARENCE GOHDES.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS 1920-1945. Edited by Lewis Léary. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1947. x, 237 pp. Indexed. \$3.75.

This check list brings together nearly five thousand articles on American literature appearing in periodicals from January 1, 1920, through December 31, 1945, as listed in (1) the annual bibliographies in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, compiled since 1922 by Norman Foerster, Gregory Paine, and Thomas H. Johnson, (2) Ernest E. Leisy's bibliography in *The Reinterpretation of American Literature* (1928), and (3) the check lists printed quarterly in *American Literature* since November, 1929, by Jay B. Hubbell, Clarence Gohdes, Gregory Paine, Herbert R. Brown, and Lewis Leary, aided by fifty contributing specialists. The check list prints the author, title, and imprint facts of each article. I miss the annotations so carefully prepared for the *PMLA* and *American Literature* bibliographies, but space and expense seem to justify the omissions. The arrangement of the items is excellent and logical, by historical periods, authors, and thirty miscellaneous categories, such as "Foreign Influences and Estimates," "Humor," and "Literary Criticism." For example, there are listed the nine articles written by Manning Hawthorne about his great-grandfather, Nathaniel Hawthorne, the twenty articles by Lewis Leary on Freneau, and the twelve articles by various authors on the "Frontier in American Literature." By counting the number of articles written on the more popular authors, I find the following numbers: Poe, 335 articles; Whitman, 232; Mark Twain, 230; Emerson, 177; Melville, 137; Hawthorne, 121; Thoreau, 103. Since the bibliographies in *PMLA* were selective, and the *American Literature* bibliographies were more inclusive, the large number of recent Mark Twain articles, of which many are unimportant, may be explained.

Helpful as is this check list, it does not include all the articles on American literature printed since 1920. The items for 1920 to 1929, as based upon the *PMLA* bibliographies, are incomplete, for only the writings by Americans, including Canadians, were included. By its very title the "American Bibliography," under the general editorship of the secretary of the Modern Language Association, did not include articles by foreign scholars. There were probably dozens of articles on various phases of American literature printed in British, continental European, and Latin American journals published in the 1920's. And probably the compilers, of whom I was one, missed many items in historical, critical, and trade journals.

In a few years a revised edition of this check list must be prepared to bring it up to date. I hope that the editors will include the items from

1917 to 1920, thus filling the gap between the bibliographies in the *Cambridge History of American Literature* and the PMLA bibliographies. Those years were momentous in the recognition of several major authors. Lowell and Whitman, born in 1819, were honored by centennial publications; Melville, after decades of neglect, had a favorable rediscovery by English and American critics and biographers. In rereading Herman E. Spivey's thesis on *A Critical Bibliography for the Years 1917 to 1922 of Representative American Authors* (North Carolina, 1929), I find that he lists *six* or more articles on each of the following authors: Henry Adams, Burroughs, Mark Twain, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Melville, Poe, O. Henry, Thoreau, and Whitman, with a dozen or more articles on Henry James, who died in 1916, and on Howells, who died in 1920.

Perhaps this well-edited and carefully printed check list will encourage other professors and librarians to undertake the publishing of a complete bibliography of books and articles in American literature.

University of North Carolina.

GREGORY PAINE.

THE ATLANTIC FRONTIER: *Colonial American Civilization (1607-1763)*. By Louis B. Wright. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. xii, 354, xix pp. Trade edition, illustrated, \$4.50. Text edition, \$3.40.

In his latest book Mr. Wright "seeks to interpret the political, social, and intellectual development of the colonies in regional groups by providing a succinct narrative of their settlement and progress until they were firmly established." The result, *The Atlantic Frontier*, is a model of compression and proportion; it is frequently good reading; and it embodies the results of recent scholarship, among them its author's own investigations of Renaissance backgrounds and the reading habits of colonial Americans. The bibliography and notes are held to a judicious minimum. Those who teach colonial American literature will find the book especially valuable for assignment as collateral reading.

Its chief difference from Curtis P. Nettels's *The Roots of American Civilization*, perhaps its best-known predecessor, is the emphasis upon regional differences. The five central chapters describe the institutional, social, and intellectual history of (1) the Chesapeake Bay colonies, (2) New England, (3) the colonies on the Hudson and the Delaware, (4) Pennsylvania, and (5) the Southern colonies. This geographical grouping perhaps blurs the picture of constitutional development, but on the other hand it permits graphic delineation of economic and religious divergence. No similar synthesis, moreover, gives as much attention to the place of books and education in the colonial pattern.

The title may be a little misleading, if one conceives of the frontier

as a dynamic force or a unique nexus between civilization and the wilderness. *The Atlantic Frontier*, by and large, is neither a Turner nor an anti-Turner book. Only in the first and last chapters are the colonies placed in the puzzling perspective of world history, and although those chapters are brilliant (the first, "The Old World Background," is particularly good), they are not consistently focused upon the colonies as a frontier.

Mr. Wright has the faculty of bringing historical figures to life in a few happily phrased sentences, wherein his own opinions are undisguised. The account of William Penn, for instance, has the biographical freshness that one associates with the work of Lytton Strachey. The forces of personality as well as those of economics and power politics have their place in this book. The appeal, therefore, is to almost every conceivable level of a reader who is seriously interested in the colonial period as a whole and not merely in its details.

University of Minnesota.

THEODORE HORNBERGER.

BETWEEN FIXITY AND FLUX: *A Study of the Concept of Poetry in the Criticism of T. S. Eliot*. By Sister Mary Cleophas Costello of the Religious Sisters of Mercy of the Union. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, Inc. 1947. x, 122 pp.

The author of *Between Fixity and Flux* tells us that she is trying to discover what form of speech according to Eliot differentiates poetry from all other forms of discourse, or, put differently, that the purpose of her study is to try to determine from Eliot's critical statements the "formal cause" which he attributes to poetry. Her book is, therefore, a study in literary theory based on Aristotle. And literary theory is in its turn defined as "the formulation, objectively and without regard for problems of value, of general knowledge of the nature of literature."

At the end we are told that what has been hinted all along is, sadly enough, true—that Eliot, lacking an explicit philosophical background, fails as a literary theorist because he has been unable to assign poetry to "its ontological position in the scheme of reality." One gathers, moreover, that his is a failure in literary criticism as well as theory since it appears from the statements of Sister Mary Cleophas Costello that good theorists and good critics alike must first of all be philosophers. If we are to emerge from the "sacred wood of romanticism into the broad daylight of scientific reality" we must, she tells us, first learn that a mere bent toward the philosophic, an eclecticism like Eliot's, is not enough; that Eliot indeed stands as a warning to us all—for though he aspired to "the purity of Aristotle," even he failed to attain it.

Now I, for one, happen to be more than a little puzzled (and, incidentally, a little refreshed) by this doctrinal assurance in the presence of poetry—in the presence of that which I regard, at least in romantic moments, as a kind of fearful symmetry. Yet no one devoted to the cause of poetry can fail to admire the care for analysis which is shown in almost every sentence of *Between Fixity and Flux*. Nor should one speak with false courage of the discomfort and anxiety its author feels in the presence of modern sensibility. One feels that anxiety himself. T. S. Eliot, of course, feels it intensely.

But to deny strange gods is one thing; it is quite another summarily to reject romanticism as a whole. And when Sister Mary Cleophas Costello remarks in her chapter, "The Clarification of the Center," that its title can be relevant to Eliot's theory "only if it shows that there is really no center to clarify," she simply fails, it seems to me, to give her own alert and critically discerning mind a fair chance to exercise itself. Much can be learned from the soberest kind of criticism, and most of us learn far too little. But no account of the mode of being of poetry can rest on a devotion to heavy-mindedness.

The study of poetry should begin not with ontological abstractions but with the object and the image and with the degree to which, being alive, we gain or lose imaginative possession of our world. It should establish genuine possession in place of material ownership. It should restore our heritage and, so doing, exhibit the great modern sin of mere possessiveness, of avarice or greed. And in the study of poetry the voice of Eliot, as poet and as critic, is a living and powerful voice. Both at grim present and in long perspective his various accounts of the way in which the image-making faculty may be fixed with intensity in a well-adapted sound structure add up to an excellent statement, highly intelligent and therefore important. It may be that he succeeds only in telling us that what was once personal may become lastingly human through the operation of form. But to tell us this convincingly and well is to tell us that we command this world only in so far as the objects of our knowing are well proportioned to the mind. Thus poetry is rightly called by Eliot "the creation of a sensuous embodiment."

Go, said the bird, for the leaves were full of children,
Hidden excitedly, containing laughter.

I recommend this sober and challenging book especially to the audience of the well-read. My pleasure in it and my struggle with it, both considerable, are not easily distinguishable as I write. Yet the conviction remains that, if the prospects of poetry can be determined only by the sureness and clarity of one's philosophy—or, possibly, the firmness of one's

religion—then poetry itself is at best incidental, its creation almost impossible, and its ontological position (so vital to the author of *Between Fixity and Flux*) more doubtful than ever. It seems to me that a sensuous order, call it poetry or art, is necessary to sustain our worthiness and abundance on earth, our life, and in that way poetry helps to make both philosophy and religion possible.

Olivet College.

J. D. BENNETT.

A HOUSE IN CHICAGO. By Olivia Howard Dunbar. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1947. viii, 288 pp. \$3.50.

A letter from the British novelist Frank Swinnerton, quoted in this book, tells of a very old lady who approached him after one of his lectures in the United States with these words: "Mr. Swinnerton, I've always wanted to shake hands with Mr. Arnold Bennett. I never shall. I reckon you're the next best thing."

By the same token the story of Harriet Moody's life may be considered a good substitute for direct biography of the many writers who became her friends and correspondents. The list includes Sir Rabindranath Tagore, E. A. Robinson, Robert Frost, Vachel Lindsay, Carl Sandburg, Ridgely Torrence, Harriet Monroe, John Masefield, W. W. Gibson, James Stephens, Padraic and Mary Colum, and several others less well remembered. There were few authors who did not rise to their best when responding to Mrs. Moody's vibrant personality, and the letters from literary people which Miss Dunbar has included with a lavish hand constitute the most valuable feature of her book.

Not that Mrs. Moody herself was unworthy of a biographer's attention. She was one of the great women of her generation. Born the daughter of a conventional Chicago tycoon, she rejected the life of easy dependence then marked out for gilded young women. Against her father's wishes she insisted on going to college and even on trying a year in medical school before acknowledging that she had no aptitude for that profession. From the triple disaster of an unfortunate first marriage, an accident to an ankle which left her lamed for life, and the loss of her financial independence, she emerged buoyant, first as an enthusiastic high-school teacher and ultimately as the organizer of a distinguished and highly successful catering business. In Chicago, as also in New York and the Berkshires, she kept open house for poets, and after waiting until her mother's death left her free, she made a happy but tragically brief second marriage to William Vaughn Moody. For two decades after his death in 1910 Mrs. Moody flourished as a literary hostess. She met the loss of her business in the depression of 1929 with the old gallantry but not with

her former resilient strength. Death released her from a losing struggle.

Little of Mrs. Moody's personal quality can be preserved, except as it found reflection in the words of the men of genius who flocked to her house. Though she excelled in the art of living, she did not have the gift of expression in any of the enduring forms of art. As a hostess, however, she displayed to a high degree that "negative capability" of adapting herself to the color of her surroundings which Keats declared was the mark of a man of achievement, especially in literature. To each of her guests she displayed an individual facet of her abundant nature. To Tagore she was the admiring disciple, to Vachel Lindsay almost a mother, to Frost a gay and witty comrade, to the Colums a munificent patroness.

Her relation to Will Moody was, of course, closest and most devoted of all, both in the years of their deepening friendship and in the few months of their married life. As a primary contribution to the biography of a highly gifted poet whose place in American letters is secure, Miss Dunbar's work possesses permanent importance. Its chief defect is a tendency on the author's part to indulge in excessive expressions of admiration for her subject, but these flourishes of sentiment do not affect the substantial value of the factual record. The whole period when Middle Western writers were rising to national importance was embraced by Harriet Moody's hospitality. To the main literary movement of her time she contributed a distinctive grace note.

Amherst College.

GEORGE F. WHICHER.

THOMAS WOLFE. By Herbert J. Muller. (The Makers of Modern Literature.) Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions. 1947. 196 pp. \$2.00.

The legend of the Southern giant, "God's lonely man," the verbal volcano that was Thomas Wolfe, is already well known—and known to be not legend but truth. Herbert J. Muller treats with critical seriousness this rhapsodic autobiographer, and finds Wolfe's chief achievement to be the transformation of his private legend into a national myth. A great myth, in the words of Mark Schorer, represents "a large, controlling image . . . which gives philosophical meaning to the facts of ordinary life, that is to say, which has organising value for experience." In this sense, Wolfe was the latest voice of the American dream—and the American disillusion. His theme throughout was: "You can't go home again."

The author of *Modern Fiction: A Study of Values* here, in a brief but valuable work, gives both the myth and the legend of Thomas Wolfe, and analyzes the books that formed the one big unfinished book of Wolfe's

body of writing. He places Wolfe in the tradition of Whitman and Melville.

Professor Muller does not try to gloss over Wolfe's obvious shortcomings as a novelist. Wolfe made no original contribution to the methods and materials of fiction. "No other important modern writer has appeared so often naïve, extravagant, maudlin, ludicrous." Wolfe assumed that the writer should say everything and leave nothing implicit, and that full self-expression would automatically equal full communication. He was "much too prone to invoke instead of to render." Wolfe could neither escape the events of his life nor control them for the novelist's purpose. His memory was too excellent, and crippled his creative imagination. Everything he wrote is autobiography: Eugene Gant is Tom, George Webber is Tom. He lacked the aesthetic vision of form that would have given a frame to the disorder of crude reality. His irony flowed over into the incongruous, the grotesque. He could write only by erupting a scoria of words, from which some editor might hew out an *Of Time and the River* or *The Web and the Rock*. This is not the best way to write a book, but it was the only way for Tom Wolfe.

Wolfe himself recognized that he never could have become a polished craftsman. He realized that he had to learn everything for himself, "with endless confusion, waste, and torment." He listed his own faults: addiction to adjectives, to chants and catalogues, and to manifold words of Amount and Number.

Yet we admire Thomas Wolfe, I believe, in spite of his faults, because he has certain virtues that will always appeal to young people of America. His literary excesses sprang from an excess of vitality; he was energetic as America is energetic. His one story is indeed a great myth—the myth of lost innocence, the "Faustian life," the centrifugal search for a spiritual father and the centripetal retreat toward the womb. Growing up in America, a man may share this great romantic's embracing of the "whole passionate enigma of life," and with him utter "the goat-cry of exultant joy and ecstasy torn from the heart of ageless grief and tragic destiny." That is why Wolfe's first book still remains his best. Its excesses are those of youth, its theme is that of initiation into the world and the exchange of innocence for a pilgrim's staff. With all its rant and rhapsody, *Look Homeward, Angel* is the best myth that Wolfe has left us.

University of Hawaii.

A. GROVE DAY.

THE SHERWOOD ANDERSON READER. Edited, with an Introduction, by Paul Rosenfeld. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1947. xxx, 850 pp. \$5.00.

The selections made by the late Paul Rosenfeld for *The Sherwood Anderson Reader* are almost entirely from Anderson's short pieces. Novels are scarcely ever broken into for excerpts; and when they are, the selection from them (as in "Mill Girls," from *Beyond Desire*) is a unit in itself and enjoys a merit independent of the structure and purpose of its source. Anderson is at his best in his short stories and sketches, and it was wise of Mr. Rosenfeld to have prepared this huge, ample book from them.

In his introduction Mr. Rosenfeld explains the strategy of arrangement, as intending a "display of the complex basic impulses" (xxvi). Presumably, he means that Anderson's work concerned itself concurrently with several major themes, that separate pieces reflect his thinking about these themes, but that he was never committed to any one of them to the exclusion of others. His classifications are interesting in themselves—indeed, one might say that both the arrangement and the introduction enjoy an existence and a critical distinction which are almost independent of the author whom they are designed to explain. There is no discernible logic in the arrangement of divisions; they seem at one time to emphasize a theme over which Anderson had often brooded, at another to be concerned with literary quality or type; and the final division, "Last Stories," is purely chronological.

The separate divisions (there are fourteen in all) are each provided with a chronological arrangement of the pieces included in it, so that the reader may observe the dating of Anderson's remarks upon and illustration of its title. Of real value to the student of Anderson is the inclusion of several pieces which have never been published before and others which have up to now seen only magazine publication. The long fragment, "Father Abraham," which was first discovered in 1943, is the only piece in section ten of the book, called "The Hero." It provides some very good evidence of Anderson's interest in the Civil War President with whom so many of Anderson's nationalist contemporaries were preoccupied. A very revealing study might itself be made of this one matter: the use of Abraham Lincoln by American writers of the twentieth century as a "folk hero" of the liberals.

The *Reader* allows us some opportunity for appraisal of Anderson's work. His distinction as a writer is almost entirely confined to his short stories; and the really successful ones are few indeed: "Paper Pills" and "Hands," from *Winesburg, Ohio*, perhaps; "The Egg," from *The Triumph of the Egg*; and "I'm a Fool," from *Horses and Men*. There

are probably others, but not many. When one considers his work as a whole, one has to talk about "historical place," "psychological insight," and (as Mr. Rosenfeld remarks much too abundantly, in his introduction) of "mysticism." The truth is that Anderson was a muddled writer, and usually a very bad one. He possessed warmth, and sympathy for his disinherited, inarticulate "little people"; and he is at his best as a spokesman for them, explaining their weaknesses or explaining them away. We can readily agree that these men and women are not real, but creatures of his imagining (a process which he tries to explain in his several unsuccessful remarks concerning "The Life of Art"). His principal failure is a crucial one: it is a failure to get beyond a sympathy which traps him so that he almost always fails to realize his characters objectively. His is a major contribution to the literary convention followed by John Steinbeck, William Saroyan, and, lately, Eugene O'Neill: the convention which assumes that men and women need only to inspire sympathy to be thought profound or significant. Mr. Rosenfeld overstates Anderson's case in the introduction; he does not discuss sufficiently the very great weaknesses of style and structure which in all but a very few cases reduce Anderson's work to the level of sentimental effusion. It is one thing to acknowledge the fear which is responsible for so many tensions in the modern world (in any world, for that matter); another, to share that fear and the confusion that it breeds.

The University of Oklahoma.

FREDERICK J. HOFFMAN.

RICHARD HILDRETH. By Donald E. Emerson. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1946. 181 pp. \$2.00.

Richard Hildreth was once an important name in American historiography. Now his work is known only by the erudite. From this position he should be rescued by Donald E. Emerson's account of his life and work.

This excellent book reveals Richard Hildreth to be a typical New Englander. He was born in 1807 in Massachusetts, the son of a Congregational minister, who was an ardent Federalist. The younger Hildreth seems to have been an unusually studious youth and to have made excellent use of his educational advantages. He attended Harvard University, read law with a New Hampshire lawyer, and opened a law office in Boston. He seemed headed for a career as a successful lawyer."

He was, however, too partisan, too much of a fighter in behalf of the movements of his time, too anxious for popular attention to settle down to the practice of law. Having had some success in writing for

the press, he abandoned the law for the life of a journalist and a reformer. He took up in turn, with all the intensity that he was capable of, the antislavery movement, the temperance movement, and advanced ideas about morals and religion. In behalf of these causes he wrote one important novel, many pamphlets, and a number of books that were widely read at the time and stirred up much controversy. He did not turn to the writing of his history of the United States until rather late in life.

Hildreth had always been interested in history. For a long time, however, his lack of health and his preoccupation with journalism prevented him from becoming a writer of history. Finally an unusually happy marriage to an artist who could support the family with her brush enabled him to undertake the task of writing the history of his country.

The popular reception of the various volumes as they appeared was disappointing. The famous contemporary of Hildreth, George Bancroft, made from the sale of his history of the United States what at the time was considered a fortune. Hildreth, in spite of the many merits of his work, was not a popular historian. He ran counter to many ingrained New England beliefs and prejudices. He lacked the exuberant spirit, the glowing phrases, the ability to express what the common man was thinking, of Bancroft. He could not write an epic of liberty. Hildreth's style was too plain and severe to catch the imagination of his contemporaries. As a result he received only a modest income from his volumes. Unlike some of his contemporaries, too, he never received any post in the public service as a reward of his writing except the modest one of consul at Trieste when he was already a dying man.

Mr. Emerson has produced an excellent biography. He has utilized fully the rather scanty literary remains left by Hildreth. He has used the archival material available in the Harvard Library. He has made good use of a wide variety of primary and secondary printed sources. From these materials he has fashioned an interesting and informative biography. He has chapters on "Beginnings," "Apprenticeship," "A Whig Journalist," "Ideas and Literary Efforts," "The Science of Man and South America," "A Wife and a History," and "To the Tribune and Trieste." In these chapters he has packed a great deal of information, not only about Hildreth but about contemporary conditions, the movements which he advocated, and the persons with whom he came in contact. He might have profitably treated more at length his own conclusions about Hildreth's place in American historiography.

University of Wisconsin.

C. P. HIGBY.

A TREASURY OF NEW ENGLAND FOLKLORE. Edited by B. A. Botkin. New York: Crown Publishers. 1947. xxvi, 934 pp. \$4.00.

American literary history gives as yet little attention to folklore, apart from a passing nod to frontier tall tales, cowboy ballads, and synthetic Paul Bunyan legends. Yet folk literature, in its many and varied forms, lies at the heart of our literary culture, and raw folk material has frequently stimulated our creative writers. This neglect may well be the fault of the folklorists, who have not sharply defined their field, surveyed its terrain, indicated its problems, and explained its discipline.

Mr. Botkin's present folk collection, his second to date and his first regional one, is a case in point. It brings together a mass of materials, chiefly narrative, selected from the most heterogeneous writings, colonial and contemporary, historical and fictional, antiquarian and romantic. In the section on "Fabulous Yankees" one finds a British traveler's realistic impressions of Yankee types, Odell Shepard's library comments on the Yankee peddler, Henry Shute's humorous reconstruction of a New Hampshire boy's diary, Thomas Hazard's expansive memories of Rhode Island politicians. Just what these selections have in common, and what is their relation to folklore, Mr. Botkin never says in his brief prefaces to the volume's divisions, where he makes sound and often shrewd generalizations on Yankee traits and historical myth, while always avoiding the problem of analyzing his sources and assessing his materials.

Printed sources for folklore may be rewardingly used, and easily abused. Where uniform bodies of literature are plumbed, a consistent relationship to folklore can be established. The early newspapers especially capture much floating lore, and C. Grant Loomis, for example, has unearthed much primary Yankee humor from their files. Mr. Botkin examines no newspapers—not even the *Yankee Blade*—and culls without discrimination from art literature (Melville, Robinson, H. B. Stowe), professional humorists (Artemus Ward, Josh Billings), dressed-up traditions (Drake, "Jonathan Moulton and the Devil"; Digges, "Captain Pad-dock and Crook-Jaw"). He plucks large helpings from such avid nineteenth-century hunters of quaint customs and legends as Alice Morse Earle, Clifton Johnson, and Samuel Adams Drake, who tend to make the tough folk mind a thing of gossamer and ribbons. Printed sources at best can give only partial and topical insights into folklore, and the fallacy in Mr. Botkin's method is that he attempts to present a full range of traditional lore without a reservoir of systematic field collections, either his own or that of others. For New England, apart from folksong, none exist. To remedy this situation he draws upon the field manuscripts of the Federal Writers' Projects in New England, but these are for the

most part disappointing and amateurish, devoid of milieu and common-place in content. (Even the names of the collectors are sometimes lacking: 45, 46, 151, 154, 167; and all the manuscripts are undated.)

Because the writers and compilers on whom Mr. Botkin relies had no intentions of gathering accurate and coherent folk traditions, if indeed they even knew what folklore was, the *Treasury* they fill suffers in various ways. It lacks the portraits of the master storytellers, the drama of collecting, and the folk setting, which are the saltiest part of folklore. It runs along repetitious grooves, Yankee jokes, lying tales, local-color bits, for the vigorous, imaginative folk stories and beliefs inherited from Europe do not find their way into Anglo-Saxon print. Their absence, save for a few items for the Portuguese on Cape Cod and the French-Canadians in Rhode Island, strengthens the myth that equates Yankee culture with New England culture, and New England with American civilization. The inadequacy of his sources compels Botkin to use a topical or thematic arrangement, a far less satisfying method than a survey by folk groups, which would enable us to know just who possesses the lore. The slices of group lore that do turn up are stuffed into inappropriate drawers. Kittredge is not a "Yankee Pedagogue" nor a figure of "historical tradition," but the star of an eccentric-professor cycle that is duplicated in college lore throughout the country. "Save the Peavies" presents a segment of lumberjack lore, but lacking companion items it has to be sandwiched in among "Local Characters." Even where the groupings are tight the point of view continually shifts, from first person to third person, from personality to stereotype, from serious to comic, for the sources lie along many different arcs of projection. Archer Taylor has analyzed the different kinds of successful European folk anthologies, whose selections are based on a common group, a common point in time, or a common tale-type, and stressed the need for equivalent American undertakings.¹ This need is not being met by Mr. Botkin's series, which lacks any fundamental unity of approach.

If its limits are kept in mind, however, this *Treasury* has considerable usefulness. It brings together many readable texts and extracts of related interest, provoking inquiry into the nature of their relationship and facilitating stylistic studies. Every selection is fully cited, and a triple index pries open the contents. The section on folk song is discerningly chosen to catch the colloquial idiom of the native song tradition, and omits all the oft-printed Child ballads. ("Jonathan's Courtship," a rare instance of

¹ "Some Trends and Problems in Studies of the Folk-Tale," *Studies in Philology*, XXXVII, 1-25 (Jan., 1940).

the Yankee yarn in balladry, should be in there.) The *Treasury* provides adequate readings for those unconcerned with the shadings and springs of folklore, and suggests lines of endeavor for those who are.

Michigan State College.

RICHARD M. DORSON.

UNTRIANGULATED STARS: *Letters of Edwin Arlington Robinson to Harry de Forest Smith 1890-1905*. Edited by Denham Sutcliffe. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1947. xxvii, 348 pp. \$5.00.

When he was twenty-one years old, in 1890, E. A. Robinson began a correspondence with Harry de Forest Smith. Schoolmates and fellow-enthusiasts for Latin verse, they agreed to correspond regularly when Smith left Robinson, and Gardiner, Maine, for Bowdoin College. But behind the almost weekly Robinson letters lay even more than affection, and a New England sense of responsibility to contract: Robinson urgently needed someone with whom he could really communicate. The Smith letters record the next fifteen years, some of the most critical in Robinson's history.

Now, half a century later, they emerge as a poet's cardiograph. For into them, as freely as his reticence permitted, Robinson poured his essential self—his doubts and confidences, his gropings and awarenesses—in brief, the complexities and the homely simplicities, too, of an almost Hawthornesque existence. During at least six of those years from 1890 to 1905, Robinson was nearly as spiritually isolated in Gardiner as Hawthorne had been during his literary incubation at Salem. Thus, in addition to being the most intimate record as yet available of those days, outwardly uneventful, though often inwardly anguished, the letters by their tone suggest the self-communion characteristic of the personal journal.

If inevitably egoistic, however, the letters also chart Robinson's slow, not-without-pain arrival at basic attitudes and feelings about our paradoxical world. They foreshadow his capacity for penetrating character analysis—including his own. They suggest his need for an audience, in their inclusions of first drafts of poems lost to the collected works, and likewise they furnish us with a literary chronology for these years. But above all else, perhaps, they convey the special isolation of the artist, and suggest the nature of the conflict, both psychic and economic, which usually attends a sense of destiny when that destiny involves creative genius and the determination to express it, particularly within a materialistic culture. Thus, a primary value here is that which attaches to the "talk," the reflections and comments of artists about life and art, in general, and about their own lives and artistic preoccupations, in particular. This kind of talk differs from that of critics and scholars: it is internal, exploratory,

informal, rather than external, authoritative, and formal. Though not as literarily self-conscious, the Robinson-Smith letters thus belong with the letters of J. B. Yeats, Rilke, Henry James, and Vincent Van Gogh.

For the Robinson scholar, or for anyone who wishes an inner guide to the poetry, they are a "must." If Robinson consistently declined to express critical or artistic "creeds," here, in a voice which now speaks both "before" and "after," he does clarify both personal and artistic tenets. Here we may spot, and date, his formative and amazingly comprehensive early reading. (The Index suggests a literary anthology.) The bulk of the letters is, in fact, literary comment—some perspicacious and mature, some a bit sophomoric and amusing—but a map of widening artistic horizons which, by very emphasis, implies the bleak plateau of much of his external life at such times.

Mr. Sutcliffe has commendably allowed Robinson to speak largely for himself. In a brief Introduction, the editor has, however, expertly drawn together main lines of Robinson's thought, cogently emphasizing qualities rather than external facts, though significant facts are, of course, present. He has also, in the Notes, given careful assistance with regard to individual letters, correlating and identifying poems, persons, and places.

The correspondence has been arranged according to the pre-Harvard years, the two years at Harvard, the four following years in Gardiner, and the years up to 1905, when Robinson was in New York, assaulting with remarkable lack of success the literary citadels of the Big City. We greet with sympathetic amusement the naïve young man from Gardiner who details with Jonathan Edwardsian scrupulosity not only his impressions of Harvard, but his examination questions (and his grades!), as well as the number of glasses of beer and pipes of tobacco he has indulged in during that week—and we note a characteristic caution in the restraint with which he permits even such mild departures from austerity. And there are such moving communications as the letter following his mother's death, and his response to Smith's news of his engagement, passages whose very restraint spotlights a texture of sheer pain.

What emerges is a comprehensive first-person exegesis of the man who wrote his poetry for "a few poor devils who have been through things"—who wrote it with the intention that "there shall be always at least a suggestion of something wiser than hatred and something better than despair." This volume is an odyssey of self-doubt, artistic and economic struggle, and pain; and also of pride, faith, courage, and occasional shy whimsicality. Not only Robinson devotees, but anyone interested in the evolution of an artist, especially an artist in America, will be indebted to Mr. Sutcliffe for a painstaking editorial performance; and

for an invaluable addition to our still too scanty knowledge of the distinguished poet who characteristically found it more possible to speak for others than for himself.

Butler University.

LOUISE DAUNER.

THE LANGUAGE OF TRAGEDY. By Moody E. Prior. New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. 411 pp. \$5.00.

This book argues that poetry is essential to great tragedy. It does not beg the question by defining tragedy in circular terms that would lead to a neat Q. E. D.: that tragedy is serious direct dialogue in verse. The author knows what poetic language is, but he also knows that drama presents a stageable action. Since the two rarely coincide, he is forced to the conclusions, justified by any rigorous conception of great tragedy, that the Elizabethan tradition, even apart from Shakespeare, includes the best that we have; that the neoclassic age hardly extends beyond one poet (Dryden) and one success (*All for Love*); that the nineteenth century knew too little about tragedy; and that the present age, though we experiment sensitively in both poetry and the drama, is still lost without conventions and traditions and forms.

Mr. Prior's criticism is fruitful, since it develops positions that critics and practicing artists might well ponder: (1) Poetry is form, and form frees the imagination. (2) "Truth [in the sense of "truth to life" or "realism"] is not—of itself—an artistic merit. It is a condition of intelligibility and acceptability." (3) The poetic method can present various aspects of reality or experience simultaneously; it can accumulate associations and implications. (4) "Verse establishes a condition which eliminates the standard of strict verisimilitude, . . . and hence opens the way to exploitation of all the resources of language."

These, and similar keystones of the argument, are illustrated in a detailed historical survey of the greatest works of the English poetic drama, as well as in peripheral observations. How few poets, we find, are dramatists! How few dramatists are poets! It is a pessimistic book. If it were not, it would be less valuable. The dual and impossible ideal helps us to appreciate rightly what is best, without muddling into historical defenses or lazy *de gustibus* tolerances.

It is a nice observation of Mr. Prior's that repetition is a dramatic failure in Tamburlaine's boring succession of victories, but a poetic success in the imagery of gods, jewels, and planets that turns the Scythian shepherd into a heroic figure with a restless passion for achievement, a man of *virtù*. It is informing, also, to see Mr. Prior work out in diction and imagery his conviction that the essence of drama is neither passion

nor character, but action, and treat, therefore, the light-dark images in *Romeo and Juliet*—not statistically, as Miss Spurgeon does; nor impressionistically, as Knight does—but in their *development*. Mr. Prior's analysis of dramatic structures is always interesting, but his method is at its best pitch when he deals with writers who have possessed principles that organized their *poetic* language—Shakespeare, Tourneur, Webster, Yeats.

The book deserves several stars as an extended and controlled venture into critical scholarship, of which we have too few good examples to balance our wealth in historical scholarship. It is exact and limited in its conception; it is exact and limited in its selection of the best single tragedies of the best authors in order to permit detailed analysis; and it therefore is usually successful in considering the history of English drama since the Renaissance without losing us among too many trees. It gives us timber, not underbrush.

In a sentence, Mr. Prior believes that the dramatic way of handling language is to make "the diction and imagery play an essential role in the scheme of necessity and probability which determines and shapes the action." Diction and imagery are his principal interests. The third in the conventional trilogy, rhythm, is somewhat surprisingly slighted, considering the author's eloquent defense of the need for poetry in great tragedy. He holds to somewhat mechanical and rhetorical conceptions of diction and imagery; and though he recognizes the importance of symbols, he develops them only casually. The larger organizing and structural elements, which the language of poetry shares with, say, the "language" of painting or music, are not parts of the argument as he sets it up.

The limited definition he gives to poetry leads Mr. Prior to a scant treatment of American tragedy, a treatment legitimate within his own terms. Eugene O'Neill, therefore, whose *conceptions* are certainly the closest to great poetic tragedy which our country has so far produced among its dramatists, gets only passing references because he does not write in verse. Balancing this omission, Maxwell Anderson is given extended consideration for his serious, if not altogether successful, attempt to make his Elizabethans talk in good American rhythms (or is it his slangy gangsters who dig up Elizabethan speech?). Our sporadic attempts at poetic tragedy—Moody, say, or Millay, or Jeffers—are not even mentioned.

A book of such scope cannot please everyone. Is the standard critical or more nearly historical, when *Gorboduc* is treated in detail, but *Samson*, *Atalanta*, and *Merope* are not considered? In a book on the drama, is Stephen Spender as important as some of the translators and adapters

of Greek drama—Gilbert Murray, for example? Since the two chapters that run from 1660 to the end of the nineteenth century are kept in length proportionate to the others, Mr. Prior relaxes as he does not permit himself to relax elsewhere, and falls back on anthologizing with running comments. The last chapter loses its focus, but perhaps that is the fault of "The Present Age" itself. These are faults of proportion, if they are faults at all.

The book as a whole might be described as sound and traditional, rather than imaginative or original in its criticism. The style is often heavy and padded, so that the expression strains the reader's attention more than the thought warrants. There must be lighter and freer ways of framing such academic sentences as these: "This common mood, and the repetition of the device of the melancholy tool-villain as a principal device for projecting it; suggest an interesting artistic consequence of the philosophic bias from which these plays apparently were written." Or: "In view of the fact that the peculiarities of expression in modern poetry are in many ways a function of its moods and attitudes, it is not surprising that changes in attitude referred to above should be viewed as implying modifications in style." The book is too long by a third, so that its drive and critical clarity finally exhaust themselves. Even the typographical errors suggest this: I noticed only two in the first hundred pages, but at least eight in the last hundred.

Yet as a whole this is the sort of book that the study of literature needs. It has assimilated traditional opinions and modern approaches; it sets up a sharply limited critical problem and tests it fully and seriously in enough periods to establish the validity of its conclusions; it gives for each of its major figures new light; it sees individual plays sensitively and as wholes. Above all, it rarely strays from its thesis, and presents, therefore, a pure critical argument which considers literature as literature without neglecting the solid existing scholarship which can aid in turning opinions into demonstrations.

Princeton University.

DONALD A. STAUFFER.

NEW LETTERS OF ABIGAIL ADAMS, 1788-1801. Edited and with an Introduction by Stewart Mitchell. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1947. xlii, 281 pp. \$5.00.

"Here for the first time, at last, we have intimate details of the domestic life and troubles of the tribe of Adams." Thus Mr. Mitchell in his Introduction (p. xxv) twitches at the veil which reticence, notably on the part of Charles Francis Adams, has allowed to obscure homely truths: "No matter whose feelings are involved, and how, it is high

time to lift all censorship from the papers of persons who lived and died one hundred years ago." The 114 previously unpublished letters which follow, written by Mistress Adams over a period of fourteen years from, among other places, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington to her older sister, Mary Cranch, provide intimate glimpses of a succession of often care-full days, recorded by one who proves to be certainly not the least informative of our first ladies. Sickness in the family and among friends—George Washington with an abscess "so that he cannot sit up" (p. 15); servant problems—"I have had in the course of 18 months seven and I firmly believe in the whole Number, not a virtuous woman amongst them all: the most of them drunkards. . . . We know little of vileness in our state when compared with those cities who have such Numbers of Foreigners as N[ew] York and Philadelphia" (pp. 68-69); dancing parties at which French styles call for some not at all prudish comment—"I could not but lament, that the uncovered bosom should display, what ought to have been veild, or that the well turnd, and finely proportioned form should not have been less conspicuous in the dance, from the thin drapery which covered it" (pp. 247-248): the volume is filled with such small treasures for the social historian. The literary historian, however, will find more slender pickings: an account of the visit of the Creek Indians who inspired Freneau's "Tomo Cheeki" essays (p. 56); occasional references to Benjamin Rush, "a kind Friend as well as Physician" (p. 66), to Benjamin Franklin Bache, "but a youth of yesteryear" (p. 118), and to Ned Church, "a disappointed [office] seeker" (p. 24); some pretty definite indications that at least one cultivated American lady in the late eighteenth century could not only freely allude to Sterne, Swift, Molière, Voltaire, and, of course, Pope and Young, but could also quote, and correctly, from Milton and (five times) from Shakespeare; and, perhaps most interesting, an account of the first presentation of Joseph Hopkinson's "Hail Columbia" at the New Theatre on Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, on April 25, 1798, together with Mistress Adams's indignant denial of Bache's impudent allegation that she had "shed Tears of sensibility upon the occasion" (pp. 165-166).

The volume is well indexed and provided with excellently informative notes and genealogical charts; in fact, it is edited throughout with care and discrimination which make it a model for future works of its kind.

Duke University.

LEWIS LEARY.

BRIEF MENTION

THE SELECTED POEMS OF SIDNEY LANIER. Edited with a Preface by Stark Young. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1947. xiii, 146 pp. \$2.50.

This edition, based upon the *Complete Poems* published in 1884, brings together in convenient and attractive format, not only the best known and most representative of Lanier's poems, but also a number of less familiar and less accessible items, such as "The Centennial Meditation of Columbia," the cantata written for the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876. With its sixty-one selected titles, this volume presents a substantial portion of Lanier's total poetic output. The relatively brief Preface by Stark Young is largely biographical. It concisely summarizes the main and familiar facts of Lanier's short and checkered career and lays chief stress, naturally, upon the poet's musical interests, his long-continued struggle against tuberculosis, and his varied literary activities. The critical sections of the Preface are slight. Mr. Young briefly emphasizes three main points: Lanier's present-day appeal to a loyal and discriminating group of readers, his lifelong quest for technical perfection, and the exceptional degree to which his poetry reflects the sensitiveness and nobility of his spirit. The editor gives proportionately due attention to Lanier's devotion to music and to his signal achievements as a musician. He also makes passing reference to the theories expounded in *The Science of English Verse*, and to "The Marshes of Glynn" as reflecting the "full expression of his musical gifts." But aside from this, he says little or nothing of the close relationship between the techniques of musical composition and of versification throughout Lanier's poetry.

The edition, however, is a good one. It will certainly be welcomed by an established body of Lanier's admirers; it should also serve to widen the circle of his readers. This is a job worth doing.

Brooklyn College.

HOWARD W. HINTZ.

NEW YORK IN LITERATURE: *The Story Told in the Landmarks of Town and Country*. By Rufus Rockwell Wilson and Otilie Erickson Wilson. Elmira, New York: The Primavera Press. 1947. 372 pp. \$3.75.

This is an encyclopedic book. Evidently a labor of love and devotion, it records an astonishing number of facts. Dr. Wilson and his wife have told, in terms of landmarks and associative anecdotes, the complete story of New York City and its environs in American literature.

The book is a personally conducted tour, and the Wilsons are charming guides. Beginning with the tip of Manhattan geographically and with young Washington Irving chronologically, the Wilsons conduct the reader northward through the city in a series of eleven little journeys, with a stop for a look and a good story at every spot with literary association. Then in further ranging the reader visits Long Island, then out the Sound shore beyond Cooper's Angevine farm, then up the Hudson to Sunnyside, and on through the Greeley country and beyond. Then the reader follows up the west bank of the Hudson to the Burroughs country and over to Cooperstown. A side trip carries him through northern New Jersey and on to Whitman's Camden. The last tour takes him, appropriately enough, to the Wilsons' home city of Elmira with its rich association with Mark Twain.

The book reminds us how much of American literature has been produced in and around New York City, how many writers have lived and worked there, and how many spots hold them in memory. The book should be on the desk of students of American literature, especially students of the literature of New York. It will transmute the record of that literature from a mere list of names and places into a humanly significant story.

Columbia University.

M. M. HOOVER.

THE ROOSEVELT ERA. Edited by Milton Crane. With a Foreword by Jonathan Daniels. New York: Boni and Gaer. [1947.] xiv, 626 pp. \$4.75.

The subject of Professor Crane's collection is not President Roosevelt, although his personality is felt throughout. The compiler's aim was, in his own words, "to communicate, through the words of many writers, something of the ideas, the problems, and the actions of men and women in Franklin Roosevelt's America between 1932 and 1945." Although the selections chosen constitute something in the nature of a social history, almost all the writers included have some literary importance. One misses, however, the names of important writers like Thomas Wolfe, who, says the editor, "has little to contribute to such a book as this, partly because his work must be read extensively to produce its characteristic effect." Of the many anti-New Deal writers Professor Crane includes only two: E. B. White and Frank Sullivan. Within the limits the editor has set for himself, the anthology is excellent. It helps one to see the period in a better perspective, and it emphasizes the sharp break in American writing which came with the Great Depression.

SOCIAL THEORIES OF JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY: *Representative Writings of the Period 1825-1850*. Edited with an Introduction by Joseph L. Blau. New York: Hafner Publishing Company. 1947. xxx, 383 pp. Trade edition, cloth, \$3.75; paper, \$1.75.

In this volume Mr. Blau has brought together materials of considerable value for the study of American civilization in the Jackson period. In a Bibliographical Note he comments very briefly on recent books by A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., Joseph Dorfman, Herbert Schneider, Albert Post, and Merle Curti. These books, he notes, "have so completely altered the earlier view of the movement that earlier studies may well remain unread." He finds Schlesinger's *The Age of Jackson* "valuable for its resurrection of many forgotten figures in Jacksonian thought," but the book, he thinks, "errs . . . in its acceptance of the equation of the Jacksonian 'laboring' class with our 'workers' and in its attempt to make a sermon for our times out of the movements of a past century." There are selections from James Fenimore Cooper, Walt Whitman, George Bancroft, Orestes A. Brownson, Richard Hildreth, and twenty-one other writers less known to students of American literature.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CHECK-LIST OF THE WRITINGS OF T. S. ELIOT: *Including His Contributions to Periodicals and Translations of His Work into Foreign Languages*. Compiled by Donald Gallup. New Haven: Yale University Library. 1947. 128 pp.

"This pamphlet is intended as a kind of report on certain phases of work in progress toward a bibliography of T. S. Eliot. In order to preserve the proportions proper to a check-list, only the sections dealing with Mr. Eliot's own work are represented here; only first editions and first appearances in periodicals and symposia are described (except that all known editions of translations are listed); a library card-catalogue method of indicating collation (with certain minor modifications) has been adopted, and notes have been reduced to a minimum" (Introductory Note).

Many of the materials are in Mr. Gallup's own collection, but he has examined other collections; and he gratefully acknowledges receiving assistance from Mr. Eliot and many others. This very substantial contribution toward the Eliot bibliography concludes with two indexes, one for titles and another for names of persons.

THE ENDURING FEDERALIST. Edited and Analyzed by Charles A. Beard. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1948. xviii, 391 pp. \$4.00.

In this abridged version of *The Federalist* Dr. Beard has omitted repetitious and obsolete parts, especially those which pointed out the defects of the Articles of Confederation. He has supplied titles and subtitles and included thirty pages of valuable introductory materials. It is his conviction "that *The Federalist* has an illuminating pertinence to the great issues of government in our time and that its three authors were peculiarly qualified to instruct all succeeding generations in political science and constitutional government. . . ."

THE SOUTH OLD AND NEW: *A History 1820-1947*. By Francis Butler Simkins. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. xvi, 528, xx pp. \$6.00.

This volume is one of the best works in its field, but it is somewhat uneven. There are excellent chapters on religion, society, education, and art, not to mention the chapters which deal with war and political developments. There are two chapters on Southern literature, the value of which is somewhat lessened by minor errors in titles and names of authors. There are occasional inconsistencies, as in the case of James Branch Cabell, who on page 342 is called one of the "chief practitioners of the new realism" and page 344 is said to have "scorned realism as a mark of mediocrity." Professor Simkins's book is a better book than one might infer from his inveterate habit of quoting from such secondary sources as the *D.A.B.* and textbooks in American history.

MARK TWAIN AT YOUR FINGERTIPS. Edited by Caroline Thomas Harnsberger. [Foreword by Clara Clemens.] New York: Beechhurst Press, Inc. [1948.] xviii, 559 pp. \$5.00.

In this volume of well-chosen quotations from Mark Twain, alphabetically arranged, a number of quotations from manuscripts are included. The editor has given the exact source of each passage quoted.

ESSAYS IN RETROSPECT: *Collected Articles and Essays*. By Chauncey Brewster Tinker. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1948. vi, 161 pp. \$2.50.

A volume of thoughtful and charmingly written essays by a distinguished scholar and widely loved teacher. With the exception of "Joel Barlow's *Vision of Columbus*," the books and authors discussed belong largely to English literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

ARKANSAS IMPRINTS 1821-1876. Edited by Albert H. Allen. New York: Published for The Bibliographical Society of America [by] R. R. Bowker Company. 1947. xx, 236 pp. \$6.50.

In 1942 the Arkansas Historical Records Survey brought out a provisional *Check List of Arkansas Imprints, 1821-1876*. In September, 1944, Douglas C. McMurtrie, to whose foresight and industry we are indebted for so many similar check lists, died; and the completion of the task fell to Mr. Allen, for many years Mr. McMurtrie's associate. Mr. Allen makes it clear that the present volume, sponsored by the Bibliographical Society of America with the co-operation of the Library of Congress and the Newberry Library, has been more carefully done than earlier numbers in the American Imprints Inventory series. The new check list discards 44 of the entries in the 1942 check list as "not valid Arkansas titles," and yet it increases the total number from 596 to 766. There are a number of titles by Albert Pike, but they have no close relation to literature.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LOUISIANA BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS IN THE T. P. THOMPSON COLLECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA LIBRARY. Compiled by Donald E. Thompson. [Preface by W. Stanley Hoole.] University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press. 1947. viii, 210 pp. \$1.75.

The collection is rich in Louisiana materials. Pages 95-114 deal with literature.

ANSON JONES: *The Last President of Texas*. By Herbert Gambrell. Garden City, N. Y. Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1948. x, 462 pp. \$5.00.

A thorough and eminently readable biography of a New Englander who eventually became the last President of the Texas republic.

NORTH CAROLINA IN THE SHORT STORY. Edited by Richard Walser. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1948. x, 309 pp. \$3.50.

Professor Walser, editor of a collection of North Carolina verse, has compiled a representative anthology, which includes such well-known names as O. Henry, Thomas Wolfe, Wilbur Daniel Steele, James Boyd, Paul Green, and Olive Tilford Dargan. He has included a number of stories not previously appearing in book form.

CHARLESTON: *A Gracious Heritage*. By Robert Molloy. Illustrations by E. H. Suydam. New York & London: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc. [1947.] xviii, 311 pp. \$6.00.

One of the best volumes in the "Century City" series.

J. B. H.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ACCEPTED BY AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES. Edited for The Association of Research Libraries by Arnold H. Trotter. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1947. xvii, 100 pp.

Though there has been a year-by-year increase during the past three years, the number of doctoral dissertations accepted in 1947 (2587) still is roughly one-third lower than the pre-war high in 1941 (3526). There does not seem to be the disparity which one might expect between the number of dissertations in the humanities (321 in 1947, against 414 in 1941) and the number in the physical sciences (715 against 1045) or in the social sciences (749 against 909). Indeed, the humanities seem to be pretty well holding their own. Among dissertations in general literature and in English literature 50 of 150 are wholly or in part on American subjects. This does not include a number of dissertations, principally on the history of the theater, accepted by departments of fine arts and archaeology, or dissertations bearing on American literary subjects in history, in social or library science, or in education.

REPRESENTATIVE AMERICAN DRAMAS NATIONAL AND LOCAL. Edited by Montrose Moses and revised by Joseph Wood Krutch. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. [1947.] xvi, 1041 pp. \$6.00.

As revised by Mr. Krutch, this collection, in use as a textbook since 1933, has been expanded from nineteen to twenty-two plays by the addition of Clifford Odets's *Awake and Sing* (1935), Robert E. Sherwood's *The Petrified Forest* (1936), and Maxwell Anderson's *The Masque of Kings* (1937). Except for brief introductions to these, together with appropriate bibliographies, and some revision of the original bibliographies prepared by Mr. Moses to include plays produced since the bibliographies were originally compiled and recent biographical and critical studies, the introductions and other editorial material are the same as in the former edition.

MODERN AMERICAN PLAYWRIGHTS, 1918-1948: *A Bibliography*. Compiled by Joseph A. Weingarten. New York. Part I: A-Lavery, 1946. 72 pp. \$1.00. Part II: Lawrence-Z, 1947. 56 pp. \$0.80.

A list of plays, arranged alphabetically under authors, by contemporary American playwrights who, with but few exceptions, have had at

least three full-length plays produced on Broadway. Information is given on first production, on publication, and on availability of copies (including annotated scripts in some instances) in the New York Public Library.

THE SCARLET LETTER. By Nathaniel Hawthorne. Introduction by Austin Warren. Rinehart Editions, No. 1. New York and Toronto: Rinehart & Co., Inc. 1947. xiii, 251 pp. \$0.50 (no single copy sale).

A well-printed, securely bound, and attractive paper-back edition, with six pages of introductory explanatory material well adapted to the needs of high-school or college students, including a short list of other studies useful to a reader.

THE FRIENDSHIP OF MARGARET FULLER D'OSSOLI AND ADAM MICKIEWICZ. By Leopold Wellisz. New York: Polish Book Importing Co. 1947. 40 pp.

A monograph, first printed in the *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America* (1945-1946), based on ten letters in the Harvard University Library addressed to Margaret Fuller by the Polish poet between 1847 and 1849.

STUDIES IN THE LITERARY BACKGROUNDS OF ENGLISH RADICALISM with Special Reference to the French Revolution. By M. Ray Adams. Lancaster, Penn.: Franklin and Marshall College *Studies*, No. 5. 1947. vi, 330 pp.

This collection of studies of such English revolutionary writers as James Mackintosh and Joseph Fawcett is headed by the essay "Joel Barlow, Political Romanticist," which since its first publication in *American Literature* (IX, 113-153, May, 1947) has been one of the most sound and informative contributions to our knowledge of the author of *The Columbiad*. Placed now against the background of late eighteenth-century European radicalism which Mr. Adams sketches in his Introduction, and in position beside equally informative studies of Barlow's English contemporaries, the essay is even more effective and illuminating.

ON SECOND THOUGHT. By James Gray. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1947. 264 pp. \$3.00.

Articles on contemporary British and American men and women of letters, first written for daily newspapers in the Middle West, are here collected, bound together by provocative "second thoughts" on the subsequent development or lack of development of the authors discussed. Though his volume will supply few learned and definitive dicta, Mr. Gray's criticism is marked by gusto and a fresh matter-of-factness which make it welcome as antidote to much academic and otherwise "professional" criticism.

THE NEGRO SPIRITUAL SPEAKS OF LIFE AND DEATH. By Howard Thurman. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. 1947. 56 pp. \$1.00.

The Ingersoll Lecture on the Immortality of Man for 1947, which finds that the real significance of Negro spirituals is recorded "in the ebb and flow of the tides that feed the river of man's thinking and aspiring." The Negro drew his songs, in the main, from "the world of nature, the stuff of experience, and the Bible, the sacred book of the Christians who had enslaved him." Among his favorite subjects were the contemplation of death—"a fact, inescapable, persistent . . . compelling because of the cheapness with which his life was regarded"—and personal immortality in which the tired soul could find relief from labor and find happiness in reunion with loved ones. Some attention is paid to symbolism in spirituals, but the essay is, on the whole, more concerned with the spirit of yearning and Christian aspiration which motivates them.

THE LOS ANGELES STAR, 1851-1864: *The Beginnings of Journalism in Southern California*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1947. xiii, 315 pp. \$5.00.

A history of the early years of a pioneer Western newspaper, which includes (pp. 285-286) a check list of Ina Coolbrith's early poems printed in the *Star*.

MARK TWAIN. *An Exhibition Selected Mainly from the Papers Belonging to the Samuel L. Clemens Estate on Deposit in the Huntington Library*. San Marino, 1947. 33 pp.

A handlist of selected Mark Twain papers, arranged chronologically, by Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr., with a short introduction by Dixon Wecter.

ONE HUNDRED SOUTH JERSEY NOVELS. *A Bibliography of Fiction with a Southern New Jersey Setting*. Compiled and Annotated by Horace G. Richards. Trenton: New Jersey Folklore Society, 1947. 21 pp.

A list of novels, many of them juveniles, "with an authentic South Jersey setting," in which the local color is "at least moderately authentic," annotated with very brief notes on plot and historical incident or local characteristics treated. Appended is a supplementary list of nineteen volumes "less accurate in local color, or with only a very small part of the action within the limits of our region; also a few short stories in book form." Erratum: in item 20, p. 9, read "1882" for "182."

FEBOLD FEBOLDSON: *Tall Tales from the Great Plains*. Compiled by Paul R. Beath. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1948. xi, 124 pp. \$2.75.

An attractively designed and excellently printed collection of folk material concerned with the adventures and opinions of Nebraska's legendary hero, intelligently edited, and profusely illustrated with drawings by Lynn Trank.

POEMS OF THE COVERED WAGONS. Edited by Alfred Powers. Portland, Oregon: Pacific Publishing House. 1947. 144 pp. \$2.50.

An anthology of seventy-two poems of Western emigration, including excerpts or whole poems by Whitman, Bryant, Whittier, Lowell, Howells, Joaquin Miller, Stephen Vincent Benét, and many others. Editorial comment is scattered throughout the volume, in brief explanation of each of the nine sections: "By the Noted Poets" "By the Emigrants," "The Sante Fé Trail," "The Oregon Trail," "The Mormon Trail," "The Forty-niners," "Plains and Deserts," "Road's End," and "Dim Trails." Illustrations are from drawings of the mid-nineteenth century.

ON WRITING. By Anais Nin. With an Essay on Her Art by William Burford. Yonkers, N. Y.: The Alicat Bookshop. [1947.] 29 pp. \$1.00.

Number 11 of the *Outcast Chapbooks*, containing ten pages of appreciative criticism and thirteen pages of personal explanation of the art and literary habits of one of the *avant garde* novelists who "writes at great length about . . . moments of tension, of life," in revolt against what Mr. Burford describes as "the Jane Austen manner."

LEWIS LEARY.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Richard E. Amacher (Rutgers University), Ashbel Brice (Duke University), Herbert Brown (Bowdoin College), James R. Dolson (Alabama Polytechnic Institute), Horst Frenz (Indiana University), John C. Gerber (University of Iowa), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest Marchand (San Diego State College), Roy Harvey Pearce (University of California), Henry F. Pommer (Cornell University), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), and Frederick Tolles (Swarthmore College).

Items for the check list to be published in the May, 1948, issue of *American Literature* should be sent to the chairman of the committee, Lewis Leary, Box 4633 Duke Station, Durham, N. C.

I. 1609-1800

[BOUCHER, JONATHAN] Pennington, Edgar L. "Some Letters of Bishop William Skinner of Aberdeen, 1822-1827." *Hist. Mag. Prot. Episc. Church*, XVI, 373-413 (Dec., 1947).

Mentions Samuel Seabury's visit to England after the Revolution, and refers to Boucher in connection with the bishopric of Edinburgh.

[EDWARDS, JONATHAN] Townsend, H. G. "The Will and the Understanding in the Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards." *Church Hist.*, XVI, 210-220 (Dec., 1947).

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Clapp, Margaret. "An Editor for Franklin's Autobiography." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XL, 8 (Dec. 11, 1947).

A brief note on John Bigelow as editor of the *Autobiography*. Pace, Antonio. "Franklin and Machiavelli." *Symposium*, I, 36-42 (May, 1947).

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Marsh, Philip. "Philip Freneau and James Madison, 1791-1793." *Proc. N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LXV, 189-194 (Oct., 1947).

Madison's part in the *National Gazette*.

[HAMILTON, ALEXANDER] Marsh, Philip. "Hamilton and Monroe." *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV, 459-468 (Dec., 1947).

[JEFFERSON, THOMAS] Carrière, J.-M. "Mr. Jefferson Sponsors a New French Method." *French Rev.*, XIX, 394-405 (May, 1946).

Kimball, Marie G. "Thomas Jefferson's Rhine Journey." *Am.-Ger. Rev.*, XIII, 4-9, 11-15, 4-8 (Oct., Dec., 1946, Feb., 1947).

Koch, Adrienne. "Philosopher-Statesmen of the Republic." *Sewanee Rev.*, LV, 384-405 (Summer, 1947).

The ideology of Jefferson and Madison.

[MADISON, JAMES] Koch, Adrienne. "Philosopher-Statesmen of the Republic." *Sewanee Rev.*, LV, 384-405 (Summer, 1947).

Marsh, Philip. "Philip Freneau and James Madison, 1791-1793." *Proc. N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LXV, 189-194 (Oct., 1947).

See FRENEAU above.

[MATHER, COTTON] Zirkle, Conway. "The Theory of Concentric Spheres: Edmund Halley, Cotton Mather, and John Cleves Symmes." *Isis*, XXXVII, 155-157 (July, 1947).

[PAINE, THOMAS] Bizardel, Yvon. "Paine le Ressuscité." *Les Lettres Françaises*, Sept. 20, 1946, p. 3.

Meng, John J. "Thomas Paine, French Propagandist in the United States." *Records Am. Catholic Hist. Soc.*, LVII, 1-21 (1946).

[SEABURY, SAMUEL] Pennington, Edgar L. "Some Letters of Bishop William Skinner of Aberdeen, 1822-1827." *Hist. Mag. Prot. Espisc. Church*, XVI, 373-413 (Dec., 1947).

See BOUCHER above.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Boys, Richard C. "General Oglethorpe and the Muses." *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XXXI, 19-29 (March, 1947).

Poetic tributes to Oglethorpe by British poets prior to Johnson, by such poets as Pope, Thomson, Samuel Wesley, and Thomas Fitzgerald.

Coatsworth, Elizabeth. "To Begin with the Hazlitts." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XL, 8 (Jan. 9, 1948).

An account of the sojourn of the Reverend William Hazlitt and his family in Boston at the end of the eighteenth century.

Roberts, John G. "The American Career of Quesnay de Beaurepaire." *French Rev.*, XX, 463-470 (March, 1947).

Roscoe, Theodore. "A Quaker Journal." *Contemp. Rev.*, No. 985 (Jan. 1948), pp. 62-63.

The journal of Thomas Story describes conditions in eighteenth-century America.

Swan, Bradford F. "Some Thoughts on the Bay Psalm Book of 1640, with a Census of Copies." *Yale Univ. Lib. Gaz.*, XXII, 56-76 (Jan., 1948).

A description of the copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* acquired by Yale, a discussion of bibliographical puzzles of printer and author, and an explanation of the book "as a foundation stone in the cultural complex which we call America," together with a census and complete description of the eleven copies known to be in existence.

Viatte, Auguste. "Les Franco-Américains de Nouvelle-Angleterre." *Renaissance*, II and III, 322-335 (1944-1945).

II. 1800-1870

[CARUTHERS, W. A.] Davis, Curtis Carroll. "First Climber of Natural Bridge." *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, Feb. 8, 1948, sect. IV, p. 6D.

A boyhood exploit of the Virginia novelist.

[DRAKE, J. R.] Wheelock, P. D. "Henry Eckford (1775-1932), an American Shipbuilder." *Am. Neptune*, VIII, 177-195 (July, 1947).

Mentions the marriage of Joseph Rodman Drake to Eckford's daughter, the financing of Drake's visit to Scotland in 1818 by his wealthy father-in-law, and Fitz-Greene Halleck's reaction to the wedding.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Hogan, Marjorie. "The Philosophy of Ralph Waldo Emerson." *Scholastic*, I, 50-51 (May 19, 1947).

A general discussion of the philosophical ideas which influenced Emerson.

Stevenson, Burton. "The Mouse Trap." *Colophon*, Pt. XIX (Dec., 1934).

[FULLER, MARGARET] Hess, M. W. "Margaret Fuller and Browning's Childe Roland." *Personalist*, XXVIII, 376-383 (Autumn, 1947).

"Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came" as a tribute to Margaret Fuller.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Marsh, Philip. "Hawthorne and Griswold." *MLN*, LXIII, 132-134 (Feb., 1948).

A hitherto unpublished postscript to a letter from Hawthorne to James T. Fields, Aug. 20, 1850, helps complete the record of Hawthorne's contribution to the memorial volume for Mrs. Fanny Osgood which Griswold was editing.

[HAYNE, P. H.] Anderson, Charles. "Poet of the Pine Barrens" *Ga. Rev.*, I, 280-293 (Fall, 1947).

A study of forty-five unpublished letters from Hayne to Sidney Lanier between 1868 and 1880 shows that the correspondence "meant much to both of them in the way of comfort and encouragement," and that it directed their attention "through mutual criticism to the milieu which best suited their talents, . . . their native South."

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Amacher, Richard E., and Falk, R. P. "Words by Longfellow." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, X, 29-32 (Dec., 1947).

Deals critically with the musical adaptation of eight Longfellow poems, including "The Rainy Day."

Cadbury, Henry J. "Evangeline." *Friends Intelligencer*, CIV, 618 (Nov. 15, 1947).

The almshouse in which Evangeline finds Gabriel in Philadelphia is probably not the Friends Almshouse, but the Pennsylvania Hospital.

[LOWELL, J. R.] McEuen, Kathryn Anderson. "Lowell's Puns." *AS*, XXII, 24-33 (Feb., 1947).

Examples of Lowell's quibbling with words, in his letters, his literary prose, and his verse, demonstrate that puns were a conscious comic device which he used in his predominantly humorous works, especially during the period from 1846 to 1863.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Cook, Reginald L. "Big Medicine in 'Moby Dick.'" *Accent*, VIII, 102-109 (Winter, 1948).

Ahab's defeat is, in a sense, the failure of magic as an effective force in the manipulation of natural forces: Melville uses this "big medicine" romantically to heighten drama and "to infuse the magnificent plangent poetry with strange imagistic overtones."

Cournot, Michael. "Essai sur Melville." *L'Arche*, III, 42-52 (Aug.-Sept., 1946).

Maquet, Jean. "Sur Melville." *Critique*, I, 229-230 (Aug.-Sept., 1946).

A discussion of W. E. Sedgwick's *Herman Melville: The Tragedy of Mind*.

[NEAL, JOHN] Lease, Benjamin. "John Neal: Yankee Extraordinary." *Illinois Tech Engineer*, XIII, 11-13, 38, 40 (Dec., 1947).

A summary of the novelist's career.

[PARKER, THEODORE] Newbrough, George F. "Reason and Understanding in the Works of Theodore Parker." *So. Atl. Quar.*, XLVII, 64-75 (Jan., 1948).

Parker's was a transcendentalism that made full use of both reason and understanding: "understanding must be educated in order to put the facts clearly to conscience and . . . conscience must be carefully cultivated in order to be capable of judging aright."

[POE, E. A.] Jones, Rhys S. "The Influence of Edgar Allan Poe on Paul Valéry, prior to 1900." *Comp. Lit. Stud.*, XXI-XXII, 10-15 (1946).

Leary, Lewis. "Poe's *Ulalume*." *Expl.*, VI, 25 (Feb., 1948).

Suggests the paintings of Robert Walker Weir as source for "the misty mid regions of Weir."

Lind, Sidney E. "Poe and Mesmerism." *PMLA*, LXII, 1077-1094 (Dec., 1947).

"Mesmerism as a theme for fiction was, like metempsychosis and the exploration of the realm of the conscience, so well suited to Poe's principles of literary composition that it was natural for him to work in this new field, to attempt to achieve the sensational without de-

liberately attempting to mislead": if anyone was hoaxed by his tales of mesmerism, it was Poe himself.

Smart, Charles Allen. "On the Road to Page One." *Yale Rev.*, XXXVII, 242-256 (Winter, 1948).

Contains Mr. Smart's testimonial that Poe's theory of fiction will not do for the present-day author.

Tannenbaum, Libby. "The Raven Abroad: Some European Illustrations of the Work of Edgar Allan Poe." *Mag. of Art*, XXXVII, 123-127 (1944).

[THOREAU, H. D.] Harding, Walter. "Additions to the Thoreau Bibliography." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, No. 22 (Jan., 1924), p. 4.

Kalman, David. "A Study of Thoreau." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, No. 22 (Jan., 1948), pp. 1-3.

An analysis of Thoreau in terms of modern psychology.

Morgan, Charles. "Walden and Beyond." *London Times*, Nov. 9, 1947, p. 3.

Appreciative comment by an English man of letters.

[TIMROD, HENRY] Seigler, Milledge B. "Henry Timrod and Sophie Sosnowski." *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XXXI, 172-180 (Sept., 1947).

An account of Timrod's unsuccessful courtship, 1858-1861, of a Columbia, South Carolina, schoolteacher who was the principal inspiration for the poet's "Two Portraits" and "Sophie."

[MISCELLANEOUS] Helman, Edith F. "Early Interest in Spanish in New England (1815-1835)." *Hispania*, XXIX, 339-351 (Aug., 1946).

Loomis, C. G. "A Tall Tale Miscellany, 1830-1866." *Western Folklore*, VI, 28-41 (Jan., 1947).

A collection of tall tales "gathered from a few rare eastern periodicals and early newspapers."

Markham, James W. "Some Problems of Early Texas Newspapers." *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, XXII, 342-350 (Oct., 1947).

During the 1830's and 1840's, though Texans were eager for information, the death-rate for Texas newspapers was very high.

Potter, D. "The Brodhead Diaries, 1846-1849." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, X, 21-27 (Dec., 1947).

Tell of Brodhead's social relations with the Bancrofts and Emerson and of his activities as literary agent for Melville.

Taylor, Archer. "Biblical Conundrums in the *Golden Era*." *Calif. Folklore Quar.*, V, 273-276 (July, 1946).

Vandiver, Frank E. "The Authorship of Certain Contributions to *Russell's Magazine*." *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XXXI, 118-120 (June, 1947).

The series of travel letters entitled "Epistolary Gossipings of Travels," signed by "Simon Gunter" and "Paul Potter," in the last two

volumes of *Russell's Magazine*, 1859-1860, were written by John Hillhouse and Josiah Gorgas.

Weiss, Harry B. "Solomon King, Early New York Bookseller and Publisher of Children's Books and Chapbooks." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LI, 531-544 (Sept., 1947).

A preliminary check list, together with a brief description of King's publishing and bookselling business from 1821 to 1832.

III. 1870-1900

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Anon. "Twain Trustees Bring Halt to Publication of Story." *Pub. Week.*, CLIII, 233 (Jan. 17, 1948).

Followed by "Owner of Twain Manuscript Free to Publish Story," *Publishers' Weekly*, CLIII, 320 (Jan. 24, 1948), both articles concerned with a suit brought by the trustees of the estate of Mark Twain to restrain publication of a hitherto unpublished manuscript.

Coad, O. S. "Mrs. Clemens Apologizes for Her Husband." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, X, 29 (Dec., 1947).

Mrs. Clemens's letter of apology for her husband's forgetfulness in neglecting to offer his guest, Theodore Stanton, lunch: it was apparently Mark Twain's habit to skip the noon meal.

DeVoto, Bernard. "Those Two Immortal Boys." *Woman's Day*, Nov., 1947, pp. 38-39, 131-134.

A critical analysis of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, prompted by the author's hearing a "cheap and vulgar" radio dramatization of the former.

Feinstein, G. W. "Twain as Forerunner of Tooth-and-Claw Criticism." *MLN*, LXIII, 49-50 (Jan., 1948).

"Personal, vituperative, iconoclastic criticism reached its apotheosis in nineteenth-century America in Twain."

Hustvedt, S. B. "The Preacher and the Gray Mare." *Calif. Folklore Quar.*, V, 109-110 (Jan., 1946).

Chapter XXV of *Life on the Mississippi* and the Jonah folk-motif.

Lowell, Charles J. "The Background of Mark Twain's Vocabulary." *AS*, 88-89 (April, 1947).

Quotations from early Western periodicals containing neologisms which Mark Twain is credited with coining suggest that many of his 600-odd word coinages noted by R. L. Ramsay and F. G. Emberson in "A Mark Twain Lexicon," *University of Missouri Studies*, XIII, i-cxix, 1-278 (Jan., 1938), were derived from frontier usage of the day, but that others which he may have coined received wide currency for a brief period.

McKeithan, D. M. "A Letter from Mark Twain to Francis Henry Skrine in London." *MLN*, LXIII, 134-135 (Feb., 1948).

A hitherto unpublished letter, dated Jan. 7, 1902, in which Clemens comments on Kipling.

[CHOPIN, KATE] Anon. "Missouri Miniatures: Kate Chopin." *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 207-208 (1944).

[DICKINSON, EMILY] Anon. "The Wounded Poet." *TLS*, Dec. 6, 1947, p. 628.

A review of Henry Wells's *Introduction to Emily Dickinson* which warns that rhapsodical appreciation must be contained within bounds of reason, and which criticizes both Emily Dickinson's lack of variety and the critical tendency which "exalts her among the Gods." White, William. "Two Unlisted Emily Dickinson Poems." *Colby Lib. Quar.*, III, 69-70 (Feb., 1948).

Two poems in the Chicago *Chap-Book*, III, 446 (Oct. 15, 1895), are not listed in Dickinson bibliographies.

[HARTE, BRET] Booth, Bradford. "Bret Harte Goes East: Some Unpublished Letters." *AL*, XIX, 318-335 (Jan., 1948).

Letters to Holmes, Howells, Fields Osgood & Co., Bierce, Mrs. Howells, Lowell, and Longfellow retell the story of Harte's triumphal entry into the literary world of the East and his subsequent failure.

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Morby, Edwin S. "William Dean Howells and Spain." *Hisp. Rev.*, XIV, 187-212 (July, 1946).

Howells passed through a youthful period of infatuation with all things Spanish to a mature and critical appreciation of Spanish life and culture.

[JAMES, HENRY] Maurois, André. "Ecrivains américains." *Revue de Paris*, LIV, 9-24 (April, 1947).

Henry James will outlive Melville, Poe, Howells, Whitman, Hemingway, Santayana.

Nowell-Smith, Simon. "Mr. H——." *TLS*, Dec. 28, 1946, p. 643.

Illustrates the improbability of the identification of "L'Américain H——" in Flaubert's letter of July 3, 1874, with Henry James.

[JEWETT, S. O.] Anon. "The New England Spirit." *TLS*, Nov. 22, 1947, p. 602.

A discussion of the New England character as portrayed by Sarah Orne Jewett and, incidentally, by Howells, Hawthorne, Lowell, and James.

[LANIER, SIDNEY] Anderson, Charles. "Poet of the Pine Barrens." *Ga. Rev.*, I, 280-293 (Fall, 1947).

See HAYNE, above.

[RICHARDSON, A. S.] Stern, Madeleine B. "Trials by Gotham, 1870: The Career of Abby Sage Richardson." *N. Y. Hist.*, XXVIII, 271-287 (July, 1947).

A brief biographical sketch of a writer of juvenile fiction and dramatic criticism.

[WHITMAN, WALT] Allen, Gay Wilson. "Walt Whitman in Comparative Literature." *Comp. Lit. News Letter*, II, 4-5 (Dec., 1943).

Figueira, Gaston. "Poetas y prosistas de América: Walt Whitman." *Revista Iberoamericana*, XI, 113-116 (June, 1946).

Hertel, Leo. "Walt Whitmans Kenntnis Deutscher Literatur." *Ger. Quar.*, XXI, 16-24 (Jan., 1948).

A brief study of Whitman's contacts with the works of German philosophers and writers, particularly Goethe.

Laporte, Paul M. "Cézanne and Whitman." *Mag. of Art*, XXXVII, 223-227 (Sept., 1944).

Mendelssohn, M. "Walt Whitman." *New World* (Moscow), XXII, 183-188 (March, 1945).

Silver, Rollo G. "Whitman in 1850: Three Uncollected Articles." *AL*, XIX, 301-317 (Jan., 1948).

A reprinting of three letters to the *National Era*, signed "Pau-manok," one hitherto unnoted, with a correlation of these letters with other writings by Whitman designed to establish his authorship of them.

[WRIGHT, WILLIAM] Loomis, C. G. "The Tall Tales of Dan De Quille." *Calif. Folklore Quar.*, V, 26-71 (Jan., 1946).

Forty-four tall tales, all but one from the *Territorial Enterprise*, and that from the *Golden Era*.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Blanck, Jacob. "The Bibliography of American Literature." *Pub. Week.*, CLII, 2409-2411 (Nov. 22, 1947).

The collations here published through the courtesy of the Bibliographical Society of America as a contribution to American bibliography include titles by Jane Goodwin Austin, Edward Eggleston, E. E. Hale, Henry James, and B. H. Shillaber.

Lang, Cecil. "Swinburne and American Literature, with Six Hitherto Unpublished Letters." *AL*, XIX, 336-350 (Jan., 1948).

A summary of Swinburne's generally unfavorable opinion of American writers, plus five letters to Paul Hamilton Hayne and one presumably to Lloyd Brice, editor of the *North American Review* in 1890.

Wimberly, L. C. "Oscar Wilde Meets Woodberry." *Prairie Schooner*, XXI, 108-116 (Spring, 1947).

Wilde met Professor G. E. Woodberry at the University of Nebraska, where the latter was under sentence of dismissal: together they toured an insane asylum and the state penitentiary.

IV. 1900-1948

- [BLACKMUR, R. P.] Hyman, Stanley Edgar. "R. P. Blackmur and the Expense of Criticism." *Poetry*, LXXI, 259-270 (Feb., 1948).

The great pains which Blackmur takes in preparing and presenting his criticism deserve high praise.

- [BROMFIELD, LOUIS] Caillé, Pierre-François. "Bromfield et la France." *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, March 21, 1946, pp. 1, 6.

- [CABELL, J. B.] Himelick, Raymond. "Cabell, Shelley, and the 'Incorrigible Flesh.'" *So. Atl. Quar.*, XLVII, 88-95 (Jan., 1948).

The "poetic romancer" Cabell in his "intense preoccupation with man's hopeful and determined quest for beauty and harmony of existence . . . epitomized by the woman dream" is possessed of pessimism "rather more cheerful" than the optimism of Shelley: the Cabellian, whose "brave dreams must fail because his own blundering flesh must parody them, has no other recourse but laughter."

- [CALDWELL, ERSKINE] Raymond, Louis-Marcel. "Erskine Caldwell." *La Nouvelle Relève* (Montreal), V, 497-505 (Jan., 1947).

- [CRANE, HART] Taylor, Frajam. "Keats and Crane: An Airy Citadel." *Accent*, VIII, 34-40 (Autumn, 1947).

Certain parallels between Keats and Crane are obvious, but Keats never lost faith in himself, while Crane failed to attain serenity because he could never sustain the redeeming vision of love and kindness which, following upon self-forgetfulness, makes remembrance of self enduring: similarities and differences are studied chiefly through "Ode to a Nightingale" and "The Wine Menagerie."

- [CUMMINGS, E. E.] Adams, Robert M. "grasshopper's waltz: the poetry of e. e. cummings." *Cronos*, I, 1-7 (Fall, 1947).

- [DEWEY, JOHN] Savan, D. B. "John Dewey's Conception of Nature." *Univ. Toronto Quar.*, XVII, 18-28 (Oct., 1947).

Nature is multiple rather than one; its constituents are events rather than things; its processes are living histories rather than mathematical uniformities; its moments are creative and unique rather than repetitions of eternal archetypes.

- [DOS PASSOS, JOHN] Beach, Joseph Warren. "Dos Passos 1947." *Sewanee Rev.*, LV, 406-418 (Summer, 1947).

John Dos Passos, "an artist of bold originality, ingenuity and dash," has in his mordant social commentary "covered the American scene more adequately than any other novelist."

- Frohock, W. M. "John Dos Passos: Of Time and Frustration" *Southwest Rev.*, XXXIII, 71-80 (Winter, 1948).

Dos Passos is important as a poet and craftsman in handling the themes of human futility and of the flight of time.

[DOUGLAS, LLOYD] Anon. "The Robe: Novel of Early Christianity Has Become a Popular Classic." *Life*, XXIII, 90-94 (Dec. 8, 1947).

A brief history of the novel, together with four pages of color photographs of illustrations for it by Dean Cromwell.

[DREISER, THEODORE] Anon. "Dreiser the Great." *Newsweek*, XXVII, 102 (March 25, 1946).

Mayberry, George. "Dreiser: 1871-1945." *New Rep.*, CXIV, 56 (Jan. 14, 1946).

Other obituary notices appear in *Saturday Review of Literature*, XXIX, 16 (January 5, 1946), *Newsweek*, XXVII, 22 (January 7, 1946), *Time*, CXLIV, 178 (January 12, 1946), and *Wilson Library Bulletin*, XX, 392 (February, 1946).

Wallace, Margaret. "Books—A History Takes Shape." *Indep. Woman*, XXV, 209 (July, 1946).

[ELIOT, T. S.] Anon. "You Must Meet Mr. Eliot." *Scholastic*, L, 19 (Feb. 10, 1947).

A short biographical sketch and explanation of how Eliot's poetry differs from other poetry.

Brown, Wallace C. "Mr. Eliot without the Nightingales." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 31-38 (Autumn, 1947).

Restudies *The Sacred Wood* with special reference to Eliot's "impersonal theory of poetry" and his "objective correlative," and finds that Eliot "constantly exercises 'the tools of criticism: comparison and analysis' with rare taste and with judgment not always logical but always intellectually provocative."

Rowland, John. "The Spiritual Background of T. S. Eliot." *New-Church Mag.*, LXI, 52-62 (Jan.-March, 1942).

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Bergel, Lienhard. "Faulkner's Sanctuary." *Expl.*, VI, 20 (Dec., 1947).

[FERRIL, T. H.] Richards, Robert F. "Science, Ferril, and Poetry." *Prairie Schooner*, XXI, 312-318 (Fall, 1947).

Corrects the "parlor-car portrait" of Joseph J. Firebaugh in "Pioneer in the Parlor Car: Thomas Hornsby Ferril," *Prairie Schooner*, XXI, 69-85 (Spring, 1947), to which the poet objected strongly, and presents Ferril as "one of the first moderns, as a man who found no incompatibility between art and science and materialism."

[FROST, ROBERT] Cook, Reginald L. "Robert Frost's Asides on His Poetry." *AL*, XIX, 351-359 (Jan., 1948).

A representative collection of Frost's "brief, pungent reactions" to his readings of his own poetry, asides which "have the quality of whimsical rumination" and cast light on the poems and the poet.

- [HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Daniel, Robert A. "Hemingway and His Heroes." *Queen's Quar.*, LIV, 471-485 (Winter, 1947-1948).

Uses the relation of the hero to his society as the basis for an interpretation of Hemingway's stories, particularly "The Killers."

- [HERGESHEIMER, JOSEPH] Van Vechten, Carl. "How I Remember Joseph Hergesheimer." *Yale Univ. Lib. Gaz.*, XXII, 87-92 (Jan., 1948).

Includes reminiscences of Ellen Glasgow and James Branch Cabell.

- [LINDSAY, VACHEL] Bader, A. L. "Vachel Lindsay on 'The Sante Fé Trail.'" *AL*, XIX, 360-360 (Jan., 1948).

Three hitherto unpublished letters from Lindsay to Harriet Monroe show that Lindsay intended "The Sante Fé Trail" as an indictment of the automobile as representative of the "harshness, rankness, and rawness" of a mechanical and materialistic civilization, but that he later softened his attack.

- [LOWELL, ROBERT] Elton, William. "A Note on Robert Lowell." *Poetry*, LXXI, 138-139 (Dec., 1947).

Lowell has control, conciseness, a rare sense of form, mastery of the pentameter; his rhetoric, however, is not always trustworthy.

- [MAYO, E. L.] Ciardi, John. "E. L. Mayo—A Modern Metaphysical." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 17-22 (Autumn, 1947).

Appreciation of a contemporary poet.

- [MENCKEN, H. L.] Manning, Jack. "Interesting People: H. L. Mencken." *Am. Mag.*, CXLIV, 101 (Sept., 1947).

- [MIDDLETON, GEORGE] Middleton, George. "Autumnal Appraisal." N. Y. *Times Book Rev.*, LII, 20 (Dec. 14, 1947).

The playwright discusses the writing of his recent autobiography, *These Things Are Mine*.

- [MILLER, HENRY] Bataille, Georges. "La Morale de Miller." *Critique*, I, 3-17 (June, 1946).

A critical analysis of French translations (1946) of *The Tropic of Capricorn*, *The Tropic of Cancer*, and *Black Spring*.

- Quéval, Jean. "Henry Miller." *Poésie* 47, No. 37 [1947], pp. 110-114.

- Perles, Alfred. "Henry Miller in Villa Seurat." *Life and Letters Today*, XLI, 148-156 (June, 1944).

- Pierhal, Armand. "Eclaircissement sur Henry Miller." *La Neff*, IV, 23-29 (May, 1947).

- [O'NEILL, EUGENE] Anon. "Movie of the Week: Mourning Becomes Electra." *Life*, XXIII, 63-66 (Dec. 8, 1947).

A brief summary, numerous scenes from the picture, and an analysis of O'Neill's use of classic themes to express modern points of view.

Geier, Woodrow. "O'Neill's Miracle Play." *Religion in Life*, XVI, 515-526 (Autumn, 1947).

In *Days without End* O'Neill not only summarizes modern obsessions but also suggests the Christian solution.

[PARKER, DOROTHY] Maurois, André. "Écrivains américains." *Revue de Paris*, LIV, 9-24 (April, 1947).

"Cete Colette américaine a formé de la vie une idée aussi pessimiste que l'Écclesiaste. . . . L'amour, qui est la suprême affaire, est aussi un échec permanent."

[POUND, EZRA] Watts, Harold H. "Pound's Cantos: Means to an End." *Yale Poetry Rev.*, No. 6 (1947), pp. 9-20.

[PROKOSCH, FREDERIC] Bataille, Georges. "Un Nouveau romancier américain." *Critique*, II, 387-389 (May, 1947).

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Blanck, Jacob. "News from the Rare Book Sellers." *Pub. Week.*, CLII, B354 (Nov. 22, 1947).

Contains an account of the Edwin Arlington Robinson Collection of Mr. Lewis M. Isaacs presented to the New York Public Library. Figueira, Gastón. "Poetas y prosistas americanos: I. Edwin Arlington Robinson. II. Thomas Wolfe." *Revista Iberoamericana*, XI, 329-332 (Oct., 1946).

[ROURKE, CONSTANCE] Hyman, Stanley E. "Constance Rourke and Folk Criticism" *Antioch Rev.*, VII, 418-434 (Fall, 1947).

A summary of Miss Rourke's achievement and influence: she was "an isolator of folk sources and roots in formal art," a "synthesizer of a living folk tradition," an "educator of provincial critics," a "popularizer of obscure and misapprehended figures," and a "democrat and a patriot."

[SALINGER, HERMAN] Waggoner, H. H. "The Angel of Our Thirst: Herman Salinger's Romantic Sensibility." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIII, 189-192 (Spring, 1947).

The problem of belief and the problem of language in a scientific and industrial age, as these problems affect the poetry of Herman Salinger.

[STEIN, GERTRUDE] Evans, O. "Gertrude Stein as Humorist." *Prairie Schooner*, XXI, 97-102 (Spring, 1947).

Gertrude Stein's refined humor of exaggeration and grimness, her lack of malice, her *non sequiturs*, and her slyness find chief sources in the American tradition of "Western" humor.

Gallup, Donald. "The Gertrude Stein Collection." *Yale Univ. Lib. Gaz.*, XXII, 22-32 (Oct., 1947).

[STEINBECK, JOHN] Champney, Freeman. "John Steinbeck, Californian." *Antioch Rev.*, VII, 345-362 (Fall, 1947).

Considers both Steinbeck's life and his works in relation to their California background.

[STEVENS, WALLACE] Martz, Louis L. "Wallace Stevens: The Romance of the Precise." *Yale Poetry Rev.*, No. 5 (1946), pp. 13-20.

[VEBLEN, THORSTEIN] Aaron, Daniel. "Thorstein Veblen: Moralistic and Rhetorician." *Antioch Rev.*, VII, 381-390 (Fall, 1947).

This "shifty iconoclast" and "academic rogue" managed to divert his readers "while he systematically undermined their social order. He attacked the institutions and culture of capitalism while at the same time laying the foundations for a more humane and natural way of life."

[WARD, CHRISTOPHER] Able, Augustus H., III. "Christopher Ward: A Literary Appreciation." *Delaware Notes*, XX, 77-84 (Nov., 1947).

[WARREN, R. P.] Stallman, Robert W. "Robert Penn Warren: A Checklist of His Critical Writings." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 78-83 (Autumn, 1947).

[WILLIAMS, T. L.] Anon. "'A Streetcar Named Desire.'" *Life*, XXIII, 101-102 (Dec. 15, 1947).

Barnett, Lincoln. "Tennessee Williams: A Dreamy Young Man with an Unconquerable Compulsion to Write Finds Himself at 33 the Most Important Playwright in the U. S. Theatre." *Life*, XXIV, 113-114, 116, 118, 121-122, 124, 126-127 (Feb. 16, 1948).

A biographical sketch of Thomas Lanier Williams.

[WILSON, EDMUND] Anon. "'Hecate County' Conviction Upheld in New York Appeal." *Pub. Week.*, CLII, 2414 (Nov. 22, 1947).

[WRIGHT, RICHARD] Fleurent, Maurice. "Richard Wright à Paris." *Paru*, No. 25 (Dec., 1946), pp. 7-8.

[WOLFE, THOMAS] Figueira, Gaston. "Poetas y prosistas americanos: I. Edwin Arlington Robinson. II. Thomas Wolfe." *Revista Iberoamericana*, XI, 329-332 (Oct., 1946).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Anon. "The Best Sellers of 1947 According to Sales in Bookstores." *Pub. Week.*, CLIII, 300-304 (Jan. 24, 1948).

The Miracle of the Bells, *The Moneyman*, and *Lydia Bailey* topped the fiction list; *Peace of Mind*, *Information Please Almanac* (1947 edition), and *Inside U.S.A.* led in nonfiction.

Fitzell, Lincoln. "Western Letter." *Sewanee Rev.*, LV, 530-535 (Summer, 1947).

Brief evaluative comments on writers dealing with life on the Pacific coast, such as Robinson Jeffers, John Steinbeck, Yvor Winters, H. L. Davis, Howard Baker, and Janet Lewis.

Hansen, Harry. "The 1947 Literary Output, or The Biggest Book Marathon in Recent History." *Pub. Week.*, CLII, 292-294 (Jan. 24, 1948).

O'Connor, William Van. "The Direction of the Little Magazines." *Poetry*, LXXI, 281-284 (Feb., 1948).

In general, it is upwards, though some fields still wait adequate coverage.

Russak, Ben. "Does Europe Want Our Books?" *Pub. Week.*, CLIII, 32-36 (Jan. 3, 1948).

The regard for American books in Europe is now "at an all time high": in Scandinavian countries Steinbeck, Caldwell, and Wilder enjoy great popularity, and Dorothy Parker is a new discovery there.

Winterich, John T. "Through Fire and Flood with the Colophon." *Pub. Week.*, CLII, 2397-2402 (Nov. 23, 1947).

A history of the old *Colophon*, an account of the new, and a listing of publications of interest to bibliophiles.

V. GENERAL

Anon. "Points of View in Book Publishing: I—Book Censorship." *Pub. Week.*, CLIII, 316-317 (Jan. 24, 1948).

Arndt, Karl J. R. "American Utopias and Internationalism." *Comp. Lit. News Letter*, II, 54-56 (May, 1945).

Astre, Georges-Albert. "Sur le roman américain." *Critique*, II, 302-315 (April, 1947).

A discussion based on one American and three French studies of the American novel.

Bond, Donald F., Carrière, Joseph M., and Seeber, Edward D. "Anglo-French and Franco-American Studies: A Current Bibliography." *Romanic Rev.*, XXXVIII, 97-116 (April, 1947).

Breit, Harvey. "Best Sellers: How They Are Made." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, LIII, 1, 25 (Jan. 4, 1948).

Brogan, D. W., *et al.* "De l'Amérique et des Américains." *Renaissances*, No. 18 (Feb., 1946).

A special number devoted to American life and literature, with articles by, among others, D. W. Brogan, "L'Américain rentre chez lui" (pp. 5-11); Pierre Brodan, "Les Écrivains américains de l'entre-deux guerres" (pp. 65-68); Raymond Las Vergnas, "La Littérature romanesque aux États-Unis pendant la guerre" (pp. 69-77); and Philippe Soupault, "Présentation de Scott Fitzgerald" (pp. 93-95).

Cunz, Deiter, *et al.* "Bibliography, Americana Germanica, 1946." *Am.-Ger. Rev.*, XIII, 36-39 (April, 1947).

Curvin, Jonathan W. "Regional Drama in One World." *Quar. Jour. Speech*, XXXIII, 480-484 (Dec., 1947).

"In escape from mere journalism it [regional drama] has lurked too shyly in a romanticized past; in escape from typicality of character, it has courted eccentricity; and in escape from rigidity of conventional form, it has disparaged the craftsman's tools."

Dell, Floyd. "Sex in American Fiction." *Am. Merc.*, LXVI, 84-90 (Jan., 1948).

The treatment of sex in recent American fiction is crude and coarse.

De Ritis, Beniamino. "L'America vista come paese della storia." *Nuova Antologia*, LXXXII, 65-70 (Sept., 1947).

Dickey, Dallas. "Southern Oratory: A Field for Research." *Quar. Jour. Speech*, XXXIII, 458-463 (Dec., 1947).

Seven fields of Southern oratory are designated as in serious need of scholarly investigation.

Ducharme, Jacques. "Bibliographie franco-américaine." *Bul. de la Société Historique Franco-Américaine* (1942), pp. 97-108.

Englekirk, John E. "Obras Norteamericanas en Traducción Española." *Revista Iberoamericana*, IX, 125-166 (Feb., 1945).

Frenz, Horst. "American Literature and World Literature." *Comp. Lit. News Letter*, II, 4-6 (Feb., 1944).

Hewitt, Theodore B. "German Hymns in American Hymnals." *Ger. Quar.*, XXI, 37-50 (Jan., 1948).

A study of the "rich contributions that German authors have made to American hymnody of the past."

Hochmuth, Marie. "In the Periodicals." *Quar. Jour. Speech*, XXXIII, 248-254, 397-405, 540-549 (April, Oct., Dec., 1947).

An annotated list of articles on such subjects as rhetoric, public speaking, radio, language, phonetics, and drama.

Jones, Joseph, and Bagby, E. Atwood. "Present-Day English." *AS*, XXII, 65-67 (Feb., 1947).

McCormack, Helen G. "A Provisional Guide to the Manuscripts in the South Carolina Historical Library." *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XLVIII, 48-52 (Jan., 1947).

Continuation of an annotated bibliography.

McLuhan, Herbert Marshall. "The Southern Quality." *Sewanee Rev.*, LV, 357-383 (Summer, 1947).

Southern life and literature have been characterized by Ciceronian humanism and a passionate sense of history—the “sense of the fatality and impersonality of events,” respect for honor, dignity, and courtesy, “acceptance of the destiny of one’s blood and kin,” and a “culture of feminine beauty and elegance.”

Morgan, Dale L. “Mormon Story Tellers.” *Rocky Mt. Rev.*, VII, 1, 3-4, 7 (Feb., 1942).

O’Faoláin, Seán. “Getting at Which Public?” *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXIV, 90-95 (Winter, 1948).

In England and France the select, intelligent public is well enough organized to control literary standards; in the United States it is not. Pride, Armistead Scott. “Negro Newspaper Files and Their Micro-filming.” *Journ. Quar.*, XXIV, 131-134 (June, 1947).

Description of a project conducted by the Committee on Negro Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, and a list of periodicals now being microfilmed at the Library of Congress.

Roy, Claude. “Clefs pour l’Amérique et sa littérature.” *Fontaine*, XI, 655-663 (Oct., 1947).

Sartre, Jean-Paul, *et al.* “U.S.A.” *Les Temps Modern*, I, Nos. 11-12 (Aug.-Sept., 1946).

A special issue devoted to articles on America, on subjects ranging from “democracy” to “comics.” In general, the articles are more concerned with the American scene than with American letters.

Seznec, Jean. “Notes on Flaubert and the United States.” *Am. Soc. Legion of Honor Mag.*, XVII, 391-398 (Sept., 1946).

Shelley, F. “Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, 1800-1890.” *Am. Archivist*, XI, 3-19 (Jan., 1948).

During the whole of the nineteenth century the story of manuscripts in the Library of Congress is the story of neglect, default, and inattention.”

Shelley, Phillip Allison. “Annuals and Gift Books as American Intermediaries of Foreign Literature.” *Comp. Lit. News Letter*, III, 57-62 (May, 1945).

Trilling, Lionel. “Manners, Morals, and the Novel.” *Kenyon Rev.*, X, 11-27 (Winter, 1947).

The novel in America has diverged from its classic intention, the “investigation of the problem of reality in the social field.” During the last decade nearly all the more serious novels have been marked by intense social awareness, conceiving of reality as “whatever is external and hard, gross, unpleasant,” with the result that “in proportion as we have committed ourselves to a particular idea of reality, we have lost our interest in manners.” What is needed is novels which

will not only point out social wrongs but which will also point out the complexities of the motives which urge us to correct the wrongs.

Vagne, Jean. "Note sur le roman américain et le public français." *Renaissance*, No. 16 (Sept., 1945), pp. 145-150.

Wrage, Ernest J. "Public Address: A Study in Social and Intellectual History." *Quar. Jour. Speech*, XXXIII, 451-457 (Dec., 1947).

"Students of public address may contribute in substantial ways to the history of ideas," largely because public speeches are composed with reference to contemporary beliefs, tempers, and levels of information.

MARK TWAIN: NEWSPAPER CONTRIBUTOR

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ONE OF THE THINGS to gladden the hearts of American newspaper editors during the latter decades of the last century was the frequency with which they received communications of one sort or another from Mark Twain. He was an incorrigible writer of letters to the press. Whenever he was stirred—and he was easily stirred—by some happening, whenever his sensibilities or opinions were outraged, he proceeded to give strong and articulate vent to his feelings. It is entertaining as well as illuminating to turn over the pages of newspapers of his day—as, in the case of this article, those of the decade following the publication of *Innocents Abroad* in 1869—and read some of these forgotten letters. It was a period during which Clemens had still to achieve his greatest reputation. No incident at this stage of his career was too trifling to provoke him into print.¹ Sometimes his remarks drew counterreplies designed to put the funny man in his place and teach him not to deal with serious matters. Yet, although few of his readers had the perception to recognize the fact, many of Twain's early letters provided unmistakable evidence that the author of them was something more than a buffoon, that he was a writer of considerable descriptive and stylistic power with marked gifts as a critic of his times.

I

The vagaries of public justice frequently moved Clemens to bitter and ironical protests. Paine has given some details of the Ruloff

¹ Once, for instance, Mark, traveling on the train from New York to Boston, overheard the conversation of a family just back in this country after a year's sojourn in Europe. Their continental manners and affected speech, largely carried on for the benefit of the rest of the car's travelers, so infuriated Twain that he exploded directly into a letter to the *Boston Transcript*. After describing the offending circumstances, he concluded: "To use their pet and beloved expression, they were a 'nahsty' family of American snobs, and there ought to be a law against allowing such to go to Europe and misrepresent the nation. It will take these insects five years now, to get done turning up their noses at everything American, and making damaging comparisons between their own country and 'Yurrupe.' Let us pity their waiting friends in Boston in their affliction" (*Boston Transcript*, Dec. 29, 1869, p. 1).

episode² and has printed in the *Biography* Mark Twain's letter of April 29, 1871, to the New York *Tribune* regarding that sensational murder case.³ Another celebrated criminal proceeding was the trial in 1873 of a man named Foster. Foster had committed a murder two years previously, but was being tried only now. Petitions demanding that Foster's death be commuted to life imprisonment had besieged the governor. In the end the latter granted a reprieve, and it was apparent that commutation was shortly to follow. The New York *Tribune*, in an editorial on the subject, cited the case as a typical example of the evils of long-drawn trials—the overwhelming evidence against this man had been weakened simply by the passage of time.⁴ Apropos of the pleas for clemency and of the equivocal position of the governor in the matter, Twain wrote the following blistering letter, in which his favorite whipping boy, the Congressman, came in for some smart posterior raps:

I have read the Foster petitions in Thursday's *Tribune*. The lawyers' opinions do not disturb me, because I know that those same gentlemen could make as able an argument in favor of Judas Iscariot, which is a good deal for me to say, for I never can think of Judas Iscariot without losing my temper. To my mind Judas Iscariot was nothing but a low, mean, premature Congressman. The attitude of the jury does not unsettle a body, I must admit, and it seems plain that they would have modified their verdict to murder in the second degree if the judge's charge had permitted it. But when I come to the petitions of Foster's friends, and find out Foster's true character, the generous tears will flow—I cannot help it. How easy it is to get a wrong impression of a man. I perceive that from childhood up this one has been a sweet, docile thing, full of pretty ways and gentle impulses, the charm of the fireside, the admiration of society, the idol of the Sunday-school. I recognize in him the divinest nature that has ever glorified any mere human being. I perceive that the sentiment with which he regarded temperance was a thing that amounted to frantic adoration. I freely confess that it was the most natural thing in the world for such an organism as this to get drunk and insult a stranger, and then beat out his brains with a car-hook because he did not seem to admire it. Such is Foster. And to think that we came so near losing him! How do we know but that he is the Second

² Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain, A Biography* (New York, 1912), II, 436-437. Paine points out that the letter was signed simply "Samuel Langhorne" and that apparently no one ever identified Mark Twain with the authorship of the letter.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, Appendix K, 1628-1629.

⁴ New York *Tribune*, March 6, 1873, p. 6.

Advent? And yet, after all, if the jury had not been hampered in their choice of a verdict, I think I could consent to lose him.

The humorist who invented trial by jury played a colossal, practical joke upon the world, but since we have the system we ought to try to respect it, a thing which is not thoroughly easy to do, when we reflect that by the command of the law a criminal juror must be an intellectual vacuum, attached to a melting heart, and perfectly macaronian bowels of compassion.

I have had no experience in making laws or amending them, but still I cannot understand why, when it takes twelve men to inflict the death penalty upon a person, it should take any less than twelve more to undo their work. If I were a legislature, and had just been elected, and had not time to sell out, I would put the pardoning and commuting power into the hands of twelve able men instead of dumping so huge a burden upon the shoulders of one poor petition-persecuted individual.⁵

At least one reader thought Mark Twain's letter highly presumptuous. The day following its appearance the *Tribune* printed a communication signed "H. K." in which the writer severely rebuked Clemens. He suggested that it would be well if clowns and actors, among which class he placed Twain, would stick to their business of amusing the public and not meddle with matters above their level:

The Foster case [declared H. K.] is one which has called forth the opinion of some of the ablest jurists and clergymen. Perhaps some will rejoice that now the opinion of one of our leading humorous writers has been drawn forth on this subject. . . . But I venture to assert that the thinking community are not prepared to give precedence to the opinions, savoring of satire, of this class—those who, with actors and clowns, make it a business to cater to our amusement in jest and burlesque—when a subject like the Foster case is under discussion, with all its grave issues and painful bearings. The more we read of this case, the more we are moved to sympathy and Christian charity; and the ghastly flippancy of Mark Twain's letter, striking, as it does, the public mind at this time, is well calculated to impress us vividly with the incongruousness of the two themes: clemency touching capital crimes and sentimental burlesque.⁶

This comment by an anonymous contributor is not uncharacteristic of the prevailing attitude toward Mark Twain. He was looked upon for the most part as a literary comedian, a prankster

⁵ *Ibid.*, March 10, 1873, p. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, March 11, 1873, p. 5.

in prose, and any attempt of his to say something serious, or to express an honest conviction on a public issue, was regarded as a joke in disguise, or as bad form. Occasionally during these years a newspaper editor⁷ or a magazine critic⁸ would call attention to abilities in Clemens other than that of humorist, but such observations were by no means frequent.

II

In 1872 Clemens, homeward bound from Liverpool on the steamship *Batavia*, watched a rescue performed by his ship of nine seamen from the wrecked bark, the *Charles Ward*. Immensely moved by the heroism displayed, Mark composed on shipboard a letter to the Royal Humane Society in London recommending that the volunteer crew performing the rescue be each awarded the Royal Humane Society's medal. The letter was published in the *Boston Transcript*, where it occupied a full column.⁹ In its vivid yet restrained description and its sense of the dramatic, the letter gave fresh proof of Mark's talents as a writer:

On Board Cunard Steamer *Batavia*
At Sea, Nov. 20, 1872

To the Royal Humane Society: Gentlemen— The *Batavia* sailed from Liverpool on Tuesday, Nov. 12. On Sunday night a strong west wind began to blow, and not long after midnight it increased to a gale. By four o'clock the sea was running very high; at half-past seven our star-board bulwarks were stove in and the water entered the main saloon; at a later hour the gangway on the port side came in with a crash, and the sea followed, flooding many of the staterooms on that side. At the same time a sea crossed the roof of the vessel and carried away one of our boats, splintering it to pieces and taking one of the davits with it. At half-past nine the glass was down to 28.35, and the gale was blowing with a severity which the officers say is not experienced oftener than once in five or ten years. The storm continued during the day and all night, and also all day yesterday but with moderated violence.

⁷ See, for example, such comments as the *Chicago Tribune* editor's on Clemens's letter proposing life rafts for ocean vessels (p. 119 below), and those of the editor of the *New York Tribune* on the first Sandwich Islands letter (p. 121 below).

⁸ E. P. Whipple, in 1876, said of Mark: "S. L. Clemens (Mark Twain), the most widely popular of . . . [American] humorists, is a man of wide experience, keen intellect, and literary culture. The serious portions of his writing indicate that he could win a reputation in literature even if he had not been blessed with a humorous fancy inexhaustible in resource" ("American Literature in the First Century of the Republic," *Harper's Magazine*, LII, 526, March, 1876).

⁹ *Boston Transcript*, Nov. 26, 1872, p. 1. The account of the rescue was also published in the *New York Tribune*, Nov. 27, 1872, p. 1.

At 4 P.M. a dismasted vessel was sighted. A furious squall had just broken upon us and the sea was running mountains high. . . . Captain Mouland immediately bore up for the wreck (which was making signals of distress), ordered out a lifeboat and called for volunteers. . . .

The wreck, a barque, was in a pitiable condition. Her mainmast was naked, her mizzen-mast and bowsprit were gone, and her foremast was but a stump, wreathed and cumbered with a ruin of sails and cordage from the fallen fore top, and fore topgallant masts and yards. We could see nine men clinging to the main rigging. The stern of the vessel was gone, and the sea made a clean breach over her, pouring in a cataract out of the broken stern and spouting through the parted planks of her bows.

Our boat pulled three hundred yards and approached the wreck on the lee side. Then it had a hard fight for the waves and the wind beat it constantly back. I do not know when anything has alternately so stirred me through and through and then disheartened me, as it did to see the boat every little while get almost close enough, and then be hurled three lengths away again by a prodigious wave. And the darkness settling down all the time. But at last they got the line and buoy aboard, and after that we could make out nothing more. But presently we discovered the boat approaching us, and found she had saved every soul—nine men. They had had to drag those men, one at a time, through the sea to the lifeboat with the line and buoy—for of course they did not dare to touch the plunging vessel with the boat.

The peril increased now, for every time the boat got close to our lee our ship rolled over on her and hid her from sight. But our people managed to haul the party aboard one at a time without losing a man. . . . As the fury of the squall had not diminished, and as the sea was so heavy, it was feared we might lose some men if we tried to hoist the lifeboat aboard, so she was turned adrift by the captain's order, poor thing, after helping in such a gallant deed. . . .

To speak by the log and be accurate, Captain Mouland gave the order to change our ship's course and bear down toward the wreck at 4:15 P.M.; at 5:15 our ship was under way again with those nine poor devils on board. That is to say, this admirable thing was done in a tremendous sea and in the face of a hurricane, in sixty minutes by the watch; and if your honorable society should be moved to give to Captain Mouland and his boat's crew that reward which a sailor prizes and covets above all other distinctions, the Royal Humane Society's medal, the parties whose names are signed to this paper will feel as grateful as if they themselves were the recipients of this great honor. . . .

Mark closed his letter characteristically:

If I have been of any service toward rescuing these nine shipwrecked human beings by standing around the deck in a furious storm, without any umbrella, keeping an eye on things and seeing that they were done right, and yelling whenever a cheer seemed to be the important thing, I am glad, and I am satisfied. I ask no reward.. I would do it again under the same circumstances. . . .¹⁰

Commented the *Transcript* on Twain's letter: "[His] . . . account . . . cannot be read without emotion in its vivid perils to which the crew of the disabled vessel and their rescuers were subjected. . . ." ¹¹

Clemens was appointed by the passengers to draw up an address of appreciation to Captain Mouland of the *Batavia*. Declared Mark after praising the captain's skill and courage:

We are sailors enough to know and appreciate the necessity to us all of your intelligent head and your superb seamanship in those troubled hours—we are sailors enough for that, although it is doubtful if one of us can tell the mizzen foretopsail jibboom from the binnacle gaskets on the maintop gallant-mast bulkhead. . . .

You did a brave, good deed when you went instantly to the aid of the shipwrecked crew of the *Charles Ward*, November 19. Without a moment's hesitation you took the serious responsibility of halting your ship in a fierce gale of wind and a turbulent sea, and adventuring a boat's crew of gallant volunteers in the service of humanity. Your masterly management of the rescuing enterprise was conspicuous throughout; and to you, the head and chief here, the crew of the wreck owe their first obligations for their restoration to the world of the living. . . .¹²

Considerably to Mark Twain's gratification, the London Royal Humane Society not only followed his recommendations in awarding medals to the captain and rescue crew of the *Batavia*, but granted the heroes cash awards and promotions as well. Clemens wrote an exuberant, rambling letter to the *Tribune* in which he praised the action of the Society and pleaded for a similar organization in this country.

'We are a nation of forty millions, [said he] and we have some little money. Cannot we have a Society like that? Why it is the next most noblest thing to sending moral tracts to Timbuctoo. And would cost less money, too. Not that I object to sending moral tracts to Timbuctoo;

¹⁰ Boston *Transcript*, Nov. 26, 1872, p. 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

far from it; I write the most of them myself, and gain the larger part of my living in that way. I would grieve to see Timbuctoo redeemed, and have to lose its custom. But why not start a Humane Society besides? ...¹³

The New York *Tribune* remarked editorially on this letter of Twain's: "The award of the gold medal and other things therewith connected give our correspondent occasion to reel off a pleasant skein of gossip about worthier topics than will be found in what he calls 'the daily feast of Congress corruption and judicial rottenness.'"¹⁴

III

Only a few months after the *Charles Ward* rescue, another episode at sea drew a letter from Clemens to the press. This was the tragic sinking of the steamer *Atlantic* with almost all passengers. A principal reason, apparently, why so few lives were saved was that the life boats had been smashed by the great waves before they could be launched. Mark insisted that had the *Atlantic* possessed life rafts instead of boats most of the people aboard might have been rescued. After referring to the fact that on the occasion of a previous sea disaster¹⁵ a similar recommendation of his had been ignored, he said sarcastically:

I did not expect that the Government would jump at the suggestion [of using life rafts instead of boats] and I was not disappointed. The Government had business on hand at the time which would benefit not only our nation but the whole world—I mean the project of paying Congressmen over again for work which they had already been paid to do, that is to say, the labor of receiving Credit Mobilier donations and forgetting the circumstance. But that shining public benefit now being accomplished, why cannot the Government listen to me now?

Then Clemens broached in detail his argument for equipping ocean-going vessels with life rafts:

The *Atlantic* had eight boats, of course—all steamers have. Not one of the boats saved a human life. The great cumbersome things were

¹³ New York *Tribune*, Jan. 27, 1873, p. 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* A considerable part of this long letter of Mark Twain's (almost two columns in the *Tribune* were devoted to it) dealt with examples of British generosity toward all sorts of causes, and gave an anecdotal history of the Cunard Company. In mock fear lest he be suspected of press-agenting the steamship line, Mark hastened to add: "I have never been offered a cent for all this; I am not even acquainted with a member of the Cunard Company."

¹⁵ The burning of the *Mississippi* at sea some time before.

shivered to atoms by the seas that swept over the stranded vessel. And suppose they had not been shivered—would the case have been better? Would not the frantic people have plunged pell-mell into each boat as it was launched and instantly swamped it? They always do. But a life raft is a different thing. All the people you can put on it cannot swamp it. Nobody understands davit-falls but a sailor, and he don't when he is frightened; but any goose can heave a life raft overboard, and then some wise man can throw him after it. The sort of life raft I have in mind is an American invention, consisting of three inflated horizontal rubber tubes, with a platform lashed on top. These rafts are of all sizes, from a little affair the size of your back door, to a raft 22 feet long, and six or eight feet wide. As you remember, no doubt, two men crossed the Atlantic from New York to London, some years ago, on one of these rafts of the latter size. That raft would carry 120 men. Nine such rafts could have saved the Atlantic's 1000 souls, and these rafts (fully inflated and ready for use) would not have occupied as much room on her deck as four of her lubberly boats; hardly more than the room of three of her boats, indeed. Her boats were probably 30 feet long, seven feet deep, and seven or eight feet wide at the gunwales.

You could furnish a ship with medium and full-sized rafts—an equal number of each—and pile them up in the space now occupied by four boats, and then you could expect to save all her people, not merely a dozen or two. They would sail away through a storm, sitting high and dry from two to four feet above the tops of the waves. In addition to the rafts, the ship could carry a boat or two, for promiscuous general service, and for the drowning of old fogies who like old established ways. You could attach a raft to a ship with a ten fathom line and heave it overboard on the lee side in the roughest sea (and it can't fall any way but right side up) and there it will lie and ride the waves like a duck till it receives its freight of food and passengers—and then you can cut the line and let her go. But if you launch a boat, it usually falls upside down; and if it don't, the people crowd in and swamp it. Boats have sometimes gone safely away with people and taken them to land, but such accidents are rare.

I am not giving you a mere landsman's views upon this raft business; they are the views of several old sea captains and mates whom I have talked with, and their voice gives them weight and value. Our Government has so many important things to attend to that we cannot reasonably expect it to bother with life rafts, and we cannot reasonably expect the English Government to bother with them because this admirable contrivance is a Yankee invention, and our mother is not given to adapting our inventions until she has had time to hunt around among her

documents and discover that the crude idea originated with herself in some bygone time—then she adopts it and builds a monument to the crude originator. England has our life raft on exhibition in a museum over there (the raft that made the wonderful voyage) and heaps of people have gone in every day for several years and paid for the privilege of looking at it. Perhaps many a bereaved poor soul whose idols lie stark and dead under the waves that wash the beach of Nova Scotia may wish, as I do, that it had been on exhibition on board the betrayed *Atlantic*.¹⁶

Clemens's vigorous letter attracted wide notice. The *Chicago Tribune*, for example, remarked:

Mark Twain, who is sometimes a sage as well as a humorist, publishes a communication in the *New York Tribune* in which he approves of the use of life-rafts instead of boats on ocean steamships. . . . He thinks the American government has heretofore been too busy with Credit Mobilier transactions, raising salaries, and reforming the Civil Service to give the matter the attention which it deserves, but now demands that it should take the subject in hand, investigate the usefulness of the invention, and, if found valuable, set the example of adopting it.¹⁷

IV

The death, late in 1872, of Kamehameha V, King of the Sandwich Islands, created considerable national interest in those far-flung islands. Report was strong that the United States Government was about to annex them, and foreign governments looked with a jealous eye on this rumored imperialistic design. The *London Standard*, taking it for granted that the annexation was as good as accomplished, urged England to "restore the equilibrium" by annexing the Fiji Islands to Australia.¹⁸ In the United States there was sharp division of opinion over the ethics as well as the advisability of annexation. The *New York Tribune* came out strongly against such a move.¹⁹ Apropos of the subject, and at the

¹⁶ *New York Tribune*, April 11, 1873, p. 5.

¹⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, April 26, 1873, p. 4.

¹⁸ Reported in the *New York Tribune*, Jan. 6, 1873, p. 4.

¹⁹ Editorialized the *Tribune* (Jan. 9, 1873, p. 4): "It is proposed to annex this Toy Kingdom to the United States. Fifty thousand natives, a score or two of beach-combers, and a handful of thrifty foreigners, have been governed for years by the portentous machinery of a full-grown empire. This machine has had its king, cabinet, standing army, navy, nobility, and public debt. Its ruler, a reclaimed savage, has done well, considering his antecedents and lights. But the less said about his life and rule, the better. To what use could we put the population which has been so governed? In the ignorance, shiftlessness, idleness, and immorality which form so worrying a problem in our own society, what should we do with the Hawaiians? They have been going to the bad, mentally, physically, financially, and politically, these thirty years; shall they therefore make an end by dropping into the United States?"

invitation of the *Tribune*, Mark Twain wrote two letters in January of 1873 to this newspaper. His first communication gave a lengthy description of the islands, treating of the climate, the white and native populations, the missionaries, the sugar industry, and so on. Reminiscing on his own stay in the Sandwich Islands, Clemens painted an idyllic picture of the place:

... if I could have my way about it [he wrote], I would go back there and remain the rest of my days. It is paradise for an indolent man. If a man is rich he can live expensively, and his grandeur will be respected as in other parts of the earth; if he is poor he can herd with the natives and live on next to nothing; he can sun himself all day long under the palm trees, and be no more troubled by his conscience than a butterfly would.

The Sandwich Islands' brand of Christianity exhibited, according to Twain, some extraordinary aspects:

The natives are all Christians now—every one of them; they all belong to the church, and are fonder of theology than they are of pie; they will sweat out a sermon as long as the Declaration of Independence; the duller it is the more it infatuates them; they would sit there and stew and stew in a trance of enjoyment till they floated away in their grease if the ministers would stand watch-and-watch, and see them through. Sunday-schools are a favorite dissipation with them, and they never get enough. If there was physical as well as mental intoxication in this limb of the service, they would never draw a sober breath. Religion is drink and meat to the native. He can read his neatly printed Bible (in the native tongue—every solitary man, woman, and little child in the islands can), and he reads it over and over again. And he reads a whole world of moral tales, built on the good old Sunday-school pattern exaggerated, and he worships their heroes—heroes who walk the world with their mouths full of butter, and who are simply impossibly chuckleheaded and pious. And he knows all the hymns you ever heard in your life, and he sings them in a soft, pleasant voice, to native words that make "On Jordan's stormy banks I stand" sound as grotesquely and sweetly foreign to you as if it were a dictionary grinding wrong end first through a sugar mill. Now you see how these natives, great and small, old and young, are saturated with religions—at least the poetry and the music of it. But as to the practice of it, they vary. Some of the nobler precepts of Christianity they have always practiced naturally and they always will. Some of the minor precepts they as naturally do not practice, and as naturally they never will. The white man has taught them to lie, and they take to

it pleasantly and without sin for there cannot be much sin in a thing which they cannot be made to comprehend is a sin. Adultery they look upon as poetically wrong but practically proper. . . .²⁰

The *Tribune* editorial writer saw in this letter of Clemens's a demonstration of talents superior to those of mere comic writer:

Mr. Mark Twain . . . gives some curious facts touching a subject which is just now attracting a good deal of notice. The humorous and grotesque features of life in the Sandwich Islands are naturally those which first caught his attention, but he might have made for this letter the same apology which he made for his latest book [*Roughing It*], that, in spite of all he could do, it contained a great deal of information. Mr. Clemens, as those who know him will testify, is not only a wit, but a shrewd and accurate observer; and so our readers will find, in the pithy communication published today, not merely food for laughter, but subjects for reflection. They will see one of the reasons why a strong effort for annexation to the United States is likely to be made in Honolulu, and will be able to judge how much we should gain—or lose—by the admission of 50,000 Kanakas to the privilege of American citizenship. We may be sure that we are only at the beginning of this agitation.²¹

In his second letter Twain devoted particular attention to the man he called the true heir of the throne, Prince William Lunailo. Mark argued that "Prince Bill," as he called him, should rightfully be given the empty throne of the Sandwich Islands. In support of Lunailo's qualifications, Clemens cited some striking data regarding the Prince's alcoholic capacity and that of the islanders in general:

Prince William is about 35 years of age. . . . He used to be a very handsome fellow, with a truly princely deportment, drunk or sober; but I merely speak figuratively—he never was drunk; he did not hold enough. All his features were fine, and he had a Roman nose that was a model of beauty and grandeur. . . .

I have suggested that William drinks. That is not an objection to a Sandwich Islander. Whiskey cannot hurt them; it can seldom even tangle the legs or befog the brains of a practised native. It is only water with a flavor to it, to Prince Bill; it is what cider is to us. *Poi* is the all-powerful agent that protects the lover of whiskey. Whoever eats it habitually may imbibe habitually without serious harm. The late king and his late sister Victoria both drank unlimited whiskey and so would the

²⁰ New York *Tribune*, Jan. 6, 1873, p. 4.

²¹ *Ibid.*

rest of the natives if they could get it. The native beverage, *awa*, is so terrific that mere whiskey is foolishness to it. It turns a man's skin to white fish-scales that are so tough a dog might bite him, and he would not know it till he read about it in the papers. It is made of a root of some kind. The "quality" drink this to some extent, but the Excise Law has placed it almost beyond the reach of the plebeians. After *awa*, what is whiskey?

Many years ago, the late King and his brother visited California and some Sacramento folks thought it would be fun to get them drunk. So they gathered together the most responsible soakers in the town and began to fill up royalty and themselves with strong brandy punches. At the end of two or three hours, the citizens were all lying torpid under the table and the two princes were sitting disconsolate and saying what a lonely, dry country it was! I tell it to you as it was told to me in Sacramento. . . .²²

Mark had a low opinion of the so-called "Royal Ministers" of the Sandwich Islands government. These were white men of various nationalities who had drifted to the islands, and, by one means or another, had secured themselves positions of power. He gave a scathing portrait of one of them, a man named Harris:

Harris is an American—a long-legged, vain, light-weight village lawyer from New Hampshire. If he had brains in proportion to his legs he would make Solomon seem a failure; if his modesty equaled his ignorance, he would make a violet seem stuck-up; if his learning equaled his vanity, he would make von Humboldt seem as unlettered as the backside of a tombstone; if his stature were proportioned to his conscience, he would be a gem for the microscope; if his ideas were as large as his words, it would take a man three months to walk around one of them; if an audience were to contract to listen as long as he would talk, that audience would die of old age; and if he were to talk until he said something, he would still be on his hind legs when the last trump sounded. And he would have cheek enough to wait till the disturbance was over, and go on again. . . . I do not wish to seem prejudiced against Harris, and I hope that nothing I have said will convey such an impression. I must be an honest historian, and to do this in the present case I have to reveal the fact that this stately figure, which looks so like a Washington monument in the distance, is nothing but a thirty-dollar windmill when you get close to him. . . .²³

²² *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1873, pp. 4, 5.

²³ *New York Tribune*, Jan. 9, 1873, p. 5.

Finally, in this letter, Clemens turned his attention to "Reasons for Annexation" in which he ironically²⁴ urged that the islands be taken over by the United States:

We *must* annex these people. We can afflict them with our wise and beneficent government. We can introduce the novelty of thieves, all the way up from street-car pickpockets to municipal robbers and government defaulters, and show them how amusing it is to arrest them and try them and then turn them loose—some for cash, and some for "political influence." We can make them ashamed of their simple and primitive justice. . . . We can give them juries composed entirely of the most simple and charming leather-heads. We can give them railway corporations who will buy their legislatures like old clothes, and run over their best citizens. . . . we can furnish them some Jay Goulds who will do away with their old-time notion that stealing is not respectable. . . . We can give them lecturers! I will go myself.

We can make that little bunch of sleepy islands the hottest corner on earth, and array it in the moral splendor of our high and holy civilization. Annexation is what the poor islanders need. "Shall we to men benighted, the lamp of life deny?"²⁵

²⁴ Paine, in a passing reference to Clemens's two Sandwich Islands letters to the *Tribune*, remarks, with some ambiguity, that Twain urged annexation "in his own peculiar fashion" (see *Biography*, II, 474). Walter Francis Frear in his *Mark Twain and Hawaii* (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1947), a book published since the acceptance of this article by *American Literature*, states repeatedly that Twain strongly advocated the annexation of Hawaii (see, in Frear's book, pp. 35, 215, 236, 239). It is hard to see how Clemens's letters could have impressed his newspaper readers with much else than the undesirability of annexation. Even when Mark points out apparent advantages ("Think how we could build up that whaling trade. . . . We could make sugar enough there to supply all America. . . . we could have such a fine half-way house for our Pacific-plying ships and such a convenient supply depot and such a commanding sentry box for an armed squadron; and we could raise cotton and coffee there and make it pay pretty well. . . ." [New York *Tribune*, Jan. 9, 1873, p. 5]), the whole undertone is one of mockery, as when he urges further: "Let us annex, by all means. We could pacify Prince Bill and other nobles easily enough—put them on a reservation. . . . By annexing, we would get all those 50,000 natives cheap as dirt, with their morals and other diseases thrown in. . . ." (New York *Tribune*, Jan. 9, 1873, p. 5), and then adds the thoroughly ironic portion quoted in the text above. When, further, it is remembered that Twain called for the establishing of Prince Bill on the throne, and that the New York *Tribune*, a paper clearly opposed, as already shown, to annexation, invited Clemens to write his letters, and commented on them approvingly as sharing its own viewpoint in the matter, it becomes difficult to understand how both Paine and Mr. Frear hold the belief that Mark was for rather than against annexation. Certainly, if Clemens was in favor of annexing Hawaii, he took a strange way to press his convictions.

²⁵ New York *Tribune*, Jan. 9, 1873, pp. 4, 5. Remarkd the *Tribune*: "Our . . . correspondent, Mr. Mark Twain, draws a striking picture of the little kingdom in the Pacific toward which our Manifest Destiny is reaching with great desire . . . the honest and clear picture of the kingdom of Hawaii, as we see it through Mark Twain's extravagant fun, shows it about as good as kingdoms go. . . ." (Jan. 9, 1873, p. 4).

The upshot of the Hawaiian annexation fever was that Clemens's "Prince Bill" was formally proclaimed King of the Sandwich Islands. An editorial in the *Tribune* remarked: "The plebiscitum . . . [has] ratified Mr. Mark Twain's nomination of Prince Lunalilo for King . . .,"²⁶ and another article said of Twain: "The fact that his letters have unquestionably put Prince Bill on the throne, establishes his claim to the title of Pacific Warwick. . . ."²⁷

V

The variety of Twain's interests, and the multiple roles which he played in the public eye, are illustrated by his support of a project to erect a Shakespearean theater in Stratford-on-Avon. His letter on the subject to the *New York Times* was reprinted in other newspapers. The *Boston Transcript*, for example, gave the article a prominent position on its literary page.²⁸ Declared Clemens in an appeal for funds:

I believe that Americans of every walk of life will cheerfully subscribe to this Shakespeare memorial; I think that some of our prominent actors (I could almost name them) will come forward and enroll themselves as Governors; I think our commercial millionaires and literary people will not be slow to take Governorships, or at least come as near to it as they feel able; and I think it altogether likely that many of our theatres, like those of England, will give it a benefit.

Then Mark related a pertinent anecdote concerning the activities of a famous contemporary American showman:

Americans have already subscribed \$1,000 for an American memorial window to be put in the Shakespeare church at Avon.²⁹ About three-fourths of the visitors to Shakespeare's tomb are Americans. If you will show me an American who has visited England and has not seen that

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1873, p. 4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1873, p. 4. These Sandwich Islands letters of Clemens's were exceedingly popular. Said the *Tribune*: "Mark Twain's letters to the *Tribune* on the Sandwich Islands are reproduced in the Semi-Weekly. . . . The philosophy and facts of these productions have been altogether too much for our daily editions which are quite exhausted . . ." (Jan. 10, 1873, p. 4). Again, "In the legislature of New Jersey a judicious member introduced a resolution to supply the lawgivers of that State with twenty copies apiece of the *Tribune's* extra sheets containing the lectures of Prof. Tyndall, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Mr. Fields, Dr. Bellows, Mr. Wendell Phillips, and the luminous Sandwich Islands letters of Mark Twain . . ." (*New York Tribune*, Jan. 22, 1873, p. 4).

²⁸ *Boston Transcript*, May 1, 1875, p. 6.

²⁹ Short for Stratford-on-Avon. In the preliminary part of his letter, Clemens used the full name, and, in an inserted letter which he quotes from an English friend regarding the project, the phrase "*the Avon*" is used to refer to the river. Obviously Mark was careless rather than ignorant in using the word "Avon" alone for the town.

tomb, Barnum will be on his track next week. It was an American who roused into its present vigorous life England's dead interest in her Shakespearian remains. Think of that! Imagine the house that Shakespeare was born in being brought bodily over here and set up on American soil! That came within an ace of being done once. A reputable gentleman of Stratford told me so. The old building was going to wrack and ruin. Nobody felt quite reverence enough for the dead dramatist to repair and take care of his house; so an American came along ever so quietly and bought it. The deeds were actually drawn and ready for the signatures. Then the thing got wind and there was a fine stir in England. The sale was stopped. Public-spirited Englishmen headed a revival of reverence for the poet, and from that day to this every relic of Shakespeare in Stratford has been sacred, and zealously cared for accordingly. Can you name the American who once owned Shakespeare's birthplace for twenty-four hours? There is but one who could ever have conceived of such an unique and ingenious enterprise, and he is the man I refer to—P. T. Barnum.

We had to lose the house; but let us not lose the present opportunity to help build the memorial theatre.⁸⁰

Regarding Twain's action, the *Chicago Tribune* had this to say in an editorial:

Mark Twain has done something much more grateful and graceful than anything which has emanated from his humorous self in the writing of a letter to the *New York Times* calling the attention of Americans to the recent project set on foot by prominent Englishmen and lovers of Shakespeare. . . . We have no doubt that the . . . appeal which Mark Twain has placed before the American people will meet with a hearty response. . . .⁸¹

VI

Occasionally Clemens's press contributions led to unexpected developments. An amusing instance of this occurred in 1879, in connection with a new postal order issued by the government requiring more complete addresses on letters. Twain sent a communication to the *Hartford Courant* in which, after showing the number of unnecessary words required by the new ruling, he continued:

Observe this: I have been ciphering, and I know that the following facts are correct. The new law will compel 18,000 great mercantile houses to employ three extra correspondents at \$1,000 a year—\$54,000—

⁸⁰ *New York Times*, April 29, 1875, p. 6.

⁸¹ *Chicago Tribune*, May 7, 1875, p. 4.

smaller establishments in proportion. It will compel 30,000,000 of our people to write a daily average of ten extra words apiece—300,000,000 unnecessary words; most of these people are slow—the average will be half a minute consumed on each ten words—15,000,000 minutes of this nation's time fooled away every day—say, 247,000 hours—which amounts to about 25,000 working days of ten hours each; this makes eighty-two years of 300 working days each, counting out Sundays and sickness—eighty-two years of this nation's time wholly thrown away every day! Value of the average man's time \$1,000 a year—now do you see?—\$82,000 thrown away daily; in round numbers \$25,000,000 yearly; in ten years, \$250,000,000, in a hundred years, \$2,500,000,000; in a million years—but I have not the nerve to go on; you can see for yourself what we are coming to. If this law goes in force, there will not be money enough in this country, by and by, to pay for its obituary—and, you mark my words, it will need one. . . .³²

A few days later Clemens received a note from the private secretary to the Postmaster-General. The letter—also printed by the *Hartford Courant*—reprimanded Twain in this fashion:

Dear Sir: Noticing your letter to the *Hartford Courant* upon the recent order of the Postmaster General, I take the liberty of enclosing a few copies of a tract which the department has prepared in order to meet such hardened cases as yours. After reading the tract and the enclosed clipping [from the *Cincinnati Enquirer*] . . . you will see that the "unnecessary labor" of which you complain was really as unnecessary as the complaint, the only utility of which was to add to the already surplus stock of misinformation in the world, and to enable some needy compositors to increase their strings by several thousand. . . .

I send you by this mail a copy of the postal laws and regulations to explain the allusions in the tract, and hope you will take the trouble to look into the matter thoroughly. . . .³³

Mark replied with lofty contempt:

My callow friend, when you shall have outgrown the effervescences of youth, and acquired a bit of worldly experience, you will cease to make mistakes like that. That is to say, you will refrain from meddling in matters which do not concern you; you will recognize the simple wisdom of confining yourself strictly to your own business. There are persons who would resent this innocent piece of impertinence of yours, and say

³² Quoted by the *Boston Transcript*, Nov. 28, 1879, p. 3, and the *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 29, 1879, p. 13.

³³ Quoted by the *Boston Transcript*, Dec. 11, 1879, p. 4.

harsh things to you about it; but, fortunately for you, I am not that sort of a person. Whatever else I may lack, I have a good heart. Therefore, in a humane and gentle spirit, I shall try to set you right upon certain small points—not to hurt you, but to do you good. You seem to think you have been called to account. This is a grave error. It is the Post Office Department of the United States of America which has been called to account. . . . You are not the Post Office Department, but only an irresponsible, inexpensive, and unnecessary appendage to it. . . . The mistake you have made is simple—you have imagined yourself the dog, whereas you are the tail. . . . You are not the barrel of molasses, but only the faucet through which the molasses is discharged; you are not the boot, but the bootjack. The thing I am trying to convey to you is that it does not become you to assume functions which do not belong to you. . . . Although I cannot consent to talk public business with you, a benevolent impulse moves me to call your attention to a matter which is of quite serious importance to you as an individual. You, an unofficial private citizen, have written me an entirely personal and unofficial letter, which you have had the temerity to enclose to me in a department envelope bearing on its surface in clear print this plain and unmistakable warning: "A penalty of \$300 is fixed by law for using this envelope for other than official business." You have committed a serious offense. . . . As far as I am concerned you are safe, unless you may intrude upon me again; in which case I may be tempted to bring you before the courts myself for violation of that law. There, now, receive my blessing. Go, and do not mix into other people's affairs any more. Otherwise you may pick up somebody who will feed disagreeable words to you instead of sugar.³⁴

The Boston *Transcript* thought Clemens would have done better to ignore such a note: "The flippancy of the secretary," said the newspaper, commenting on the humorist's letter, "would have received a more fitting rebuke by a contemptuous silence. . . ."³⁵

VII

The public liked these letters of Mark Twain's, as well it might. He was never dull. If there was any doubt as to his great and increasing popularity as a newspaper correspondent, the *Arkansas Traveler* undertook to dispel it. Some of its editorial staff concocted and published in the paper a letter which they pretended had been written by Clemens. How the prank originated and what resulted was thus described in the *Traveler*:

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1879, p. 4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1879, p. 4.

Several weeks ago a well-known gentleman, while on a visit to the *Traveler*, took occasion to severely criticize Mark Twain's new book [*Life on the Mississippi*]. "He has ceased to interest the public," the critic went on, "not that he has materially weakened in style, but because the people have had enough of him. Now, nothing that he can write or ever has written would be received with any degree of favor. I warrant you that if he had kept some of his letters until now, they would fall flat. It was different with Artemus Ward. Every scrap that Ward ever wrote is, upon discovery, taken up by the press."

"A hitherto unpublished letter from Mark Twain would be taken up by the newspapers," we suggested, and hereupon began such a speculative argument that at last we wagered a box of cigars, agreeing to settle the matter by producing a Twain letter. Of course there was no hitherto unpublished letter attainable, so a very rough imitation was "ground out," purporting to have been written in Memphis in 1859. The letter was published and was immediately reproduced by many of the leading newspapers in the country. The gentleman has left a box of cigars at the office, and we feel that it is our duty to share them with Mr. Clemens. . . .³⁶

These newspaper letters of Mark Twain's show the man's extraordinary zest in the world about him. National affairs, shipwrecks, crime and punishment, social manners, public causes—all were grist for his mill. The letters display his early talents not only as humorist, but as a skilled and serious writer who had worth-while things to say on the America of his time.

³⁶ *Arkansas Traveler*, Aug. 4, 1883, p. 4.

MYTH AND HUMOR IN THE UNCLE REMUS FABLES

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THE FABLES OF Joel Chandler Harris are usually inconspicuously paged among other representatives of Southern local-color literature; yet a little more than cursory examination will note in them an imaginative and dramatic vitality beside which other Southern local-color specimens wear the faded gentility of museum pieces. I should like to suggest here that their superiority lies not merely in the appeal of primitive fantasy, but also in both a mythic and a comic implication, as these record dimly apprehended but elemental human recognitions.

The point may be rather of contemporary interest, because the last decade or so has witnessed the appropriation both of fairy tales and of a kind of native fabliau for the most popular modern art medium, the motion picture, where such material appears as the animated cartoons (it is not accidental that these are comics) and as such elaborate fantasy as the creations of Walt Disney. The psychological patterns by which a complex twentieth century finds amusement and escape in these ingenious depictions of brief, usually violent, escapades drawn from the worlds of the animal and the child may throw light upon the quality of the Uncle Remus fables, the latest, incidentally, to be accorded production. For if the child is indeed father to the man, it is equally probable that in the very naïveté of this material lies an unsuspected profundity, even bordering upon the metaphysical.

The accidental success of the fables is a textbook platitude—how, in 1879, in the extemporizing spirit engendered by an emergency in the columns of the *Atlanta Constitution*, Harris wrote a little tale which was to become the first in a unique series. The simple story evoked such enthusiasm that, between 1880 and 1906, the series grew into six books, all centered about the mythopoeic character of a wise, lovable old Negro named Uncle Remus, who was a synthesis of four Negroes whom Harris had known when, a shy boy, he had found his early companionship, not among the members of his own

race in the luxuriant ante-bellum South, but rather in the plantation cabins of the slaves.

It is not surprising that a book-loving, imaginative boy should have absorbed avidly the naïve delights of these many-faceted tales of his childhood; nor should their perennial popularity surprise us. For the stories that buried themselves in the boy's memory, to be resurrected years later, tales indigenous from South Carolina to Florida, are as variously derived as from the *Roman de Renart*, the Grimms' Fairy Tales, Basque legends, Bernoni's Venetian stories, Indian myths of both North and South America, and myths of Egypt and the Orient.¹ Thus they transcend race and locality. They suggest both the suprarational and the subrational. They limn the always fascinating world of the magical, and as Yeats says of magic itself, they embody "the visions of truth in the depths of the mind when the eyes are closed." They evoke the mystical shifting borders of race-mind and race-memory, through their eloquent symbols of animals, and of primitive human beings still at the level where mankind can communicate with the animals, can take to itself and interpret the spirit and life of the woods, the stream, and the meadow.

Thus, though they are invariably found in the children's section of our libraries, the Uncle Remus tales are just as much, and no more, children's tales than the fables of Aesop, the adventures of a bewildered Alice, or the tragicomic truths of Mother Goose. Edwin Arlington Robinson once remarked of the latter, "They are likely to contain some of the most profound and terrible thoughts that have ever shaken the soul of man. I am not sure that the most tragical poetry in the world is not in Mother Goose." We have only to recall, for instance, the rhyme about that unfortunate old woman who fell asleep one day by the roadside and who, upon waking to find herself with her hair cut off and wearing clothes not her own, cried, "Oh, dearie me, This is none of I," to suspect in the simple reflection terrifying psychological depths and the pain of the divided or lost identity—implications which seem perfectly apparent to the modern interpreter. Such may well be true of these Negro folk tales; and thus their perennial fascination for us; for the more sophisticated the culture, the more insights into the subliminal wells

¹ T. F. Crane, "Plantation Folk-Lore," *Popular Science Monthly*, XVIII, 824-833 (April, 1881).

of our racial and individual selves it may gain through the medium of the primitive, which is so closely allied to the symbolic and the mythic.

Our interest here in the Uncle Remus tales is not then in the correlations or variations of these fables according to their localities; nor, again, is it in their local-color characteristics, as Uncle Remus himself embodies the idealized ante-bellum Southern Negro; nor yet as he becomes the mouthpiece for the orthodox reconstruction views of the sunny-tempered Harris, an editorial writer, we remember, hence bound to comment upon aspects of the distressed period of the postwar Southern scene.² Rather, we are concerned with detecting some mythic properties in the stories; and with exploring some psychological sources of a humor which is so profoundly simple that it has the suggestive power of the subconscious itself.

It is often a question whether the creator is fully aware of all the overtones of his creation, as it is a question whether the creators of our animated animal comics, for instance, are fully aware of the nature of the elements devised to make us laugh. Often we do laugh; but often it is a curious laughter based on tensions which are themselves anything but the stuff of comedy. For almost invariably in these animated cartoons, the comic situation arises out of the frenzied flight of a small and helpless creature from a huge, grotesquely menacing pursuer; and the patterns of action suggest vividly the logical illogicalities of the dream of terror; so that the emotion engendered is not that of the mere ridiculous or grotesque so much as, basically, a kind of panic—a reassertion of a subconscious, fundamental fear which once acted for our survival, and which now assumes the guise of comedy in proportion to our ability consciously to rationalize and to be amused by that elemental emotion. We identify ourselves for the nonce with the small animal being pursued, and we recognize our essential kinship to the world of the animal. At the same moment, as reasoning human beings, we stand apart from and above the animal world. It is perhaps this simultaneous double focus—our sense of both identification and spectatorship—which constitutes for us the comic discrepancy. Thus our animal heroes and villains appear with both factual and sym-

² See John Stafford, "Patterns of Meaning in *Nights with Uncle Remus*," *American Literature*, XVIII, 89-108 (May, 1946), an illuminating discussion of the fables as "literary strategy."

bolic implications; and it is largely the latter which may provide the essential impulse for our laughter.

Similarly, we may question whether Harris himself knew exactly what—or all—that he was doing, beyond the creation of a series of amusing tales whose primary motive was the entertainment of children—of whatever age. He himself disclaimed any pretensions to being a “literary man.” Once he commented, “I have no literary training and know nothing at all of what is termed literary art. I have had no opportunity to nourish any serious literary ambitions, and the probability is that if such an opportunity had presented itself, I would have refused to take advantage of it.”³ He referred to himself as a “cornfield journalist.” Nor, according to another statement, were the Uncle Remus legends written with an eye to their importance as folklore stories. “I had no more conception of that than the man in the moon. The first one was written out almost by accident, and as a study in dialect.”⁴

Later, Harris did admit to verifying each new story, and to selecting, out of many versions, the one most characteristic of the Negro. But the fables are more comprehensive than merely Negro “documents.” Ray Stannard Baker calls them “the slow fruitage of the wonder, the humor, and the pathos of a race of primitive story-tellers. They were instinct with those primal passions which appeal to human nature, savage and civilized, the world over.”⁵ He adds that once Harris showed him sixteen introductions to a single story. This does not then seem like a wholly unselfconscious art; nor is it merely the retelling of slave stories, but an alteration, an adaptation, a polishing and sharpening, until the products differ from pure folk tales. Uncle Remus is not the typical product of slavery: he is a poet and philosopher, if a primitive one.

Nevertheless, it is still probably true that, with all of the effort that Harris expended upon the tales—he wanted only the narratives, preferring to concoct the settings himself—and with all of their inimitable ability to convey the tones and rhythms of the spoken word, their creation of situation, of gesture, of the fire-lit

³ “How Joel Chandler Harris Came to Write the Uncle Remus Stories,” *Current Literature*, XLV, 164 (Aug., 1908).

⁴ “The ‘Accidental’ Genius of Joel Chandler Harris,” *Current Opinion*, LXV, 325 (Nov., 1918).

⁵ “How Joel Chandler Harris Came to Write the Uncle Remus Stories,” p. 164.

cabin setting, of the eager audience, and of the adroit, dramatic use of pause and irrelevance, he was still less aware of their profundities than a later period, with its deeper psychological knowledge and sharper sense of myth may be. Mark Twain, for one, was sure that Harris did know what he was doing. He wrote to Harris, in 1881, "The stories are only alligator-pears—one eats them merely for the sake of the dressing."⁶ It is exactly the "dressing," the essential mythic and comic aspects of the fables, which constitutes a contemporary interest.

Obviously the fables, like the fabliaux of the Middle Ages, present a human world in terms of an animal world. As such it is completely primitive because it is, as yet, a morally undefined world. With regard to its uncomplicated "ethic" Harris once said, "It is not virtue that triumphs here, but helplessness; it is not malice, but mischievousness."⁷ Assuredly, our sympathies are on the side of helplessness, in the figure of Brer Rabbit, who, lacking brawn, must use brains, and who exists in a ruthless, predatory world where brawn must continually be outwitted. And it is also true that mischievousness rather than malice does often motivate his indefatigable prank-playing, which is why we never really resent him. He is both cute and acute. He has a complete aplomb, a never-failing ingenuity, even when he lies palpitating in the clutches of a momentarily imminent death. He is an animal *Til Eulenspiegel*. But even *Til* came to a summarizing rope, one day; and if Brer Rabbit never gets summarized, quite, there are occasions when we feel that he deserves it—when malice rather than mischief underlies his actions. When a guiltless Possum dies in the ordeal by fire suggested by Brer Rabbit for the theft of the butter which Brer Rabbit himself had stolen, we echo the Boy's instinctive protest. It is exactly these instances, those which lie beyond (or below) the realm of mere mischief, which suggest to us a deeper import in the fables; for it is here that an elementary sense of moral conflict appears, with the emergence of an elementary sense of ethics. And it is here that we become aware of mythic undertones.

Myth may be partially defined as the symbolical representation of the abstract, undefined wisdoms of an inarticulate mankind. It arises out of the collective subconscious, and it contains both indi-

⁶ E. C. Parsons, "Joel Chandler Harris and Negro Folk-Lore," *Dial*, LXVI, 492-493 (May, 1919).

⁷ Crane, "Plantation Folklore," p. 825.

vidual and universal implications. Thoreau has called myth "an approach to that universal language which men have sought in vain." And he adds:

This fond reiteration of the oldest expressions of truth . . . is the most impressive proof of a common humanity. . . . To some extent mythology is only the most ancient history and biography. So far from being false or fabulous in the common sense, it contains only enduring and essential truth, the I and you, the here and there, the now and then, being omitted. Either time or rare wisdom writes it. . . . In the mythus a superhuman intelligence uses the unconscious thoughts and dreams of men as its hieroglyphics to address men unborn. In the history of the human mind, these glowing and ruddy fables precede the noonday thoughts of men as Aurora the sun's rays.⁸

Now what "ancient history and biography," what "unconscious thoughts and dreams of men" may lie concealed in the "hieroglyphics" of the Uncle Remus fables? Let us first consider Brer Rabbit, that perennial, ingenious mischief-maker. In African folklore generally, the Rabbit is the cleverest, the mightiest, of all the animals.⁹ He is the Wonder-Worker, figuring particularly in the Bantu tales of the Hare and the Jackal. Since the bulk of the Negroes in the Southern American states are descended from Bantu-speaking tribes,¹⁰ Brer Rabbit, as transmitted by Uncle Remus, retains his "supernatural" status.

As seen here, he is also a "degeneration" of the Great Hare, *Manabozho*, of the Algonquian Indians of Eastern North America, one of the most important figures in Indian myth. It has been suggested that he derives his mythic importance from several factors: his prolific reproductiveness, his usefulness for food, his speed, and his seasonal change of coat, which gave him a reputation as a magician. In one line of development he becomes the great Demiurge, the life-spirit, the benefactor of mankind; in another he becomes the vain Trickster of the animal tales. As the combined Hero, Transformer, and Trickster, the Hare is a great personage in North American mythology. Some tribes, however, accord him

⁸ Henry D. Thoreau, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (New York: Hurst & Company, n.d.), pp. 52-53.

⁹ But in the folklore of the Gold Coast the rabbit role is taken by the spider (*anansi*), and on the Slave Coast, by the tortoise (*awon*); and in West Africa the hare rather takes the place of the fox, usually being outwitted by both spider and tortoise (A. B. Ellis, "Evolution in Folklore," *Popular Science Monthly*, XLVIII, 93, Nov., 1895).

¹⁰ H. B. Alexander, *The Mythology of All Races* (Boston, 1916), VII, 282-283.

in their myths predominantly a creative, heroic character;¹¹ while others, in folk tales, record (as does Uncle Remus) his discreditable adventures.

Viewed still more abstractly, he appears as a symbol for some power or efficiency in the universe which is so obvious to the primitive mind that, though it must be imaged rather than philosophically defined, it must still be taken into account in any effort to suggest a universal scheme. Thus, metaphysically, Brer Rabbit, as portrayed in the Uncle Remus fables, and in his subversion of the normal procedures of life (of the other animals) is the unpredictable, the eternal trickster, the Thwarter. And here again we see the primitive imagination in the very act of asserting itself: The irrational twists of circumstance (symbolized by Brer Rabbit) are "rationalized" in the fact that Brer Rabbit is generally given a motive for his acts. He may embark upon his prank innocently enough, in the impulse of mere curiosity, or of a simple practical joke. But most often he has previously suffered injury or humiliation at the hands of his victim; he has then no rest until he has executed some retaliation. Whatever his motive, there is no escape from him, as there is no escape from the Irrational in human life. Thus Brer Rabbit is, by extension, the rationalized Irrational; and, aesthetically, he is Irony.

There is an undramatic realism in the fact that Brer Rabbit consistently triumphs over the other animals. He is simply "smarter" than his opponents, who are always strangely gullible, and who never learn from sad experience any more than human beings apparently learn. Such realism precludes any sentimentality. When catastrophes occur, they are outside the realm of the tragic; merely recognized as inevitable in a simplified existence where life is continual hazard, where bad luck hovers daily in the shadow of the hawk's wing, where death follows the hawk's swift plunge, and where both life and death must be fatalistically accepted.

Occasionally the other animals band together in an effort to controvert Brer Rabbit's unholy ingenuities. But they almost never succeed: "He mos' allers come out on top," says Uncle Remus with a chuckle. For Brer Rabbit, the personified Irrational, is always

¹¹ *Ibid.*, X, 297-299.

The "mythic" acts include: the setting in order of the first shapeless world and the conquest of its monstrous beings; the theft of fire, the sun, or daylight; the restoration of the world after the flood; the creation of mankind and the institution of the arts of life.

waiting for his chance to "get even." Once Mr. Lion had driven him from the drinking stream. Until the day when Brer Rabbit ties Mr. Lion to a tree, pretending anxiety over the latter's safety in an impending (but wholly imaginary) hurricane, Brer Rabbit has been "huntin' a chance fer to ketch up wid 'im." And so it goes with all who have pursued him, frightened him, or caught him—Brer Fox, Brer Bear, Brer Wolf, Brer Hawk—even Mr. Man. They all come somehow to grief, and Brer Rabbit continues to maintain the uneasy respect of the community.

But irony or malice or mischief always conceals itself beneath the casual. Here life-and-death animosities wear the guise of social amiability—like the good-humored badinage of a group of Negroes through which catastrophe may slice in the unpremeditated stroke of a razor blade. Brer Rabbit meets Brer Wolf on the road one day. If he is frightened, he conceals it beneath a genial inquiry of How are all Brer Wolf's folks? But Brer Rabbit has previously fleeced Wolf out of some beef, on the pretext of its being poisoned meat, and now a revengeful Wolf is after meat of a different kind. At the right moment politeness accedes to the demands of nature, and in a flash Rabbit is fleeing for his life.

An important recognition with regard to the fables is that they exist on different mythic and comic levels, determined by the nature and the degree of the mischief perpetrated by Brer Rabbit. The dramatic intensity deepens when mischief becomes malice. When Brer Rabbit, as practical joker, goes fishing with Brer Wolf, Brer Fox, and Brer Bear—a spectacle staged for the amusement of one Miss Meadows and "de gals"—we have simple mischief expressed in slapstick comedy. Brer Rabbit admits with a wink that *he* is going to fish for "suckers." With studied gestures he drops his pole, stares into the water, scratches his head, and, having attracted general attention, announces that there can be no fishing that day, for the moon has dropped into the pond. Unless it is seined out, says he, they may as well all go home. Brer Terrapin, who is often in cahoots with Brer Rabbit, suggests that those who "fetch out" the moon will, according to hearsay, likewise fetch out a pot of money. Enthusiastically Brer Wolf, Brer Fox, and Brer Bear try to seine out the moon; but reaching a spot in the pond where the bottom shelves off, they are ingloriously, and to the general amusement, ducked. Brer Rabbit soothes them with the comment, "I

hear talk dat de moon'll bite at a hook ef you take fools fer bait."

This is pure shenanigan, with no more serious motive than that of the discomfiture produced by the practical joke. But on the next level, injury or death may follow the mischief-making. In this group are many of the fables centering about Brer Rabbit and another animal who is tricked into substituting himself for the Rabbit, previously caught and about to be killed for his misdeeds. When Brer Rabbit is caught by Mr. Man and hung up in a bag upon a limb to await final disposition, Brer Possum, passing by, inquires what he is doing in the bag. Brer Rabbit replies that he is listening to the singing in the clouds, which is so beautiful, as he describes it, that Brer Possum begs to be allowed to listen, too. He releases Brer Rabbit, gets into the bag himself, and later is severely beaten by Mr. Man.

A third level presents an even more ruthless world. Here we have not merely normal hazard or witty gulling, nor the egoism and brutality of retaliation for past injury, but the repulsive faces of deliberate murder and cannibalism. Brer Rabbit, out visiting the neighbors one day, enters Brer Wolf's house. He finds only old Granny Wolf, crippled, blind, and half deaf, sitting by the fire. Brer Rabbit makes himself comfortable by the fire, over which hangs a pot of boiling water. By and by he tells her that he, too, is crippled and getting blind, and that she must boil him in the water. He then drops a chunk of wood into the pot, causing a perceptible splash, and a little later reports that he is feeling better. At this, Granny Wolf begs him to put her into the pot. He does so, and boils her to death. Then, not yet satisfied, he disposes of her bones, leaving her meat in the pot, and, disguised in her frock and cap, sits down to await the return of Brer Wolf and his family. When they arrive, Brer Rabbit invites them to dinner. After Brer Wolf has consumed a large portion of his mother, the children discover the terrible facts. In fury, Brer Wolf pursues Brer Rabbit until the latter, exhausted, takes refuge under a leaning tree, from which he escapes only through trickery.

There is a macabre, ghoulish quality in this episode which shocks the Boy. "I didn't think Brer Rabbit would burn anybody to death in a pot of boiling water," he remonstrates. But Uncle Remus merely laughs and remarks metaphorically, "Dat was endurin' er de dog days. Der er mighty wom times, dem ar dog days is."

We may interpret the "dog days" as an era when the crudities of existence are most apt to produce an expression of sheer savage, uninhibited nature. There is an earliest time-world suggested here. And so perhaps we may say that the levels of experience presented here suggest stages in man's emergence from the period of savagery and of a brutal physical existence. It is with relation to this evolutionary aspect that the roles of the Boy and of Uncle Remus become especially eloquent.

Repeatedly the Boy voices our own shock and protest against brutality and injustice. His questions and comments impose upon the basic amorality a naïve moral judgment. Thus, symbolically and mythically considered, the Boy is the emerging awareness of right—of appropriateness, pity, justice, order. Obviously, the Boy is eternal Child, asking his terribly simple, his often unanswerable, questions, as he first observes a fascinating natural world; and as, maturing, he encounters the implications of a moral universe in which evil, here present as trickery, injustice, revenge, and death, becomes manifest. Still a dweller in the world of light and imagination and innocence, he must protest against these painful aspects of experience. So he emerges in a second mythic role: he is Child-Man in the first impulse of naming and ordering his worlds; he who, out of his as yet unspoiled intuition and instinctive moral sensitivity still untouched by formal tradition, must try to supply a moral system for a primitive universe which lacks such a system. In this effort he is somewhat bound to be disappointed. He can only "grow up," and failure to find answers to his questions, and disillusionment are part of the process. It is partly through Uncle Remus that his maturing, or becoming "realistic," occurs.

Uncle Remus is the Wise Man of his tribe who, as the storyteller, articulates and hands down to the young the wisdoms of his varied worlds—varied, because Uncle Remus is the mediator between the world of man and the world of the animals. Thus he presents to the Boy a simplified realization of the complexity of experience; and thus he teaches the Boy some hard facts, voiced in the terms of the unsentimental life that he interprets.

When Brer Rabbit, meeting Mr. Man with a wagon full of money, inquires why Mr. Man should have so much money and he have none (a primitive recognition of the Haves and the Have-Nots), the Boy asks, "Where did he get so much money?" Matter-

of-factly, Uncle Remus answers, "Bruisen round en peddlin' 'bout. . . . But no marter bout dat, he got de money; en wen you sorter grow up so you kin knock 'round, it won't be long fo some un'll take . . . you off round de cornder en tell you dat 'taint make no diffunce whar de money come fum so de man got it. Dey won't tell you dat in de meetin'-house, but dey'll come mighty nigh it." For Uncle Remus, the right is the fact—a kind of realism as terribly effective sometimes as it is simple.

If such wisdom is entirely practical, and usually based in self-interest, it is nevertheless the accumulated, well-conned knowledge which insures existence in such a tooth-and-nail world. And when self-interest becomes, as it usually does, a variety of ruthlessness, and the Boy, the gentle heir to a higher culture, protests, in moments of shock, Uncle Remus merely counters, "In dis worril, lots er fokes is gotter suffer fer udder fokes sins. Looks like hit's mighty onwrong; but hit's des dat way."¹²

Within this code of behavior the crude antidote to such inequality (which exists in the nature of things) is eat, or be eaten. Thus one must employ all possible competences—ingenuity, trickery, knowledge of one's own and one's opponent's powers and weaknesses. Thus Brer Rabbit, constitutionally weak and helpless against superior strength, becomes the epitome of the subtler capacities, and so survives in a hostile world as man himself survived in the world of the saber-toothed tiger. Time and again Brer Rabbit is caught; but each time he escapes against nearly impossible odds. And partly because he has the desperate courage of the weak, partly because of his humor—his brazen effrontery and ingenuity—we applaud the bobbing white tail that assures us he has escaped once more. For Brer Rabbit, that small figure posed against the terrific odds of a world of claw and fang and no pity, he who has only his quick brain and his swift legs, may also be, in effect, ridiculously weak man himself, in a time before mere life-preserving ingenuity has developed into moral intelligence.

We are standing on the threshold of the dawn of morality; and the main characters in these fables may well suggest stages in the evolution of our moral intelligence. In the Boy we have gentle instinct, highly developed sensibility, posing in essence the questions

¹² J. C. Harris, "Mr. Rabbit Nibbles Up the Butter," *Uncle Remus and His Songs and Sayings* (New York, 1909), p. 86.

of the first philosophers. In Uncle Remus we have the symbol of the wisdom of Things-as-They-Are, a simple, realistic acceptance and humorous transmission of the strenuous conditions and paradoxes of life. In Brer Rabbit we have the inescapable irony of the Irrational, coupled with man's own terribly humorous struggle for survival. And if Brer Rabbit thus emerges as an innately paradoxical figure, perhaps that is merely to suggest that in a purely natural world, it is man himself, operating at whatever level of intelligence, who is the supreme paradox.

But there is no sermonizing here, and since these stories are on the surface merely entertainment, Brer Rabbit's characteristic attitude is a humorous one. Thus in Brer Rabbit the mythic and the comic blend most fully; and this is entirely appropriate, for Irony and the Irrational are the stuff of comedy.

There are, however, further sources for this humor. The ability to discover similarities in dissimilarities is the ability of the humorist as well as of the poet. Uncle Remus, as the purveyor of character and situation, is, in effect, both poet and humorist (at a very simple level). Here the basic comic dissimilarity is in the world represented in the fables. As we already know, it is the animal world; but it is by implication also the human world. Says Uncle Remus, "De creeturs kyar'd on marters same ez fokes. Dey went inter fahmin', en I speck ef de troof wuz ter come out, dey kep' sto', en had der camp-meetin' times en der bobbycues w'en de wedder wuz 'greeable."¹³ This essential comic contrast is further embodied in the constant spectacle of strength outwitted by weakness, of brute force outdone by mischievous ingenuity. The fundamental disparity is perceived by the poetic-humorous imagination of Uncle Remus, and a playful judgment (another element of humor) is pronounced upon each situation which instances the disparity.

Another element for humor lies in the very naïveté of the material. The first and simplest art medium was that of drawing; and the simpler the literary material, the more readily it lends itself to illustration and particularly to comic figuration.¹⁴ Thus, consequent upon the above basic contrasts, and out of the very simplicity,

¹³ "Mr. Rabbit Meets His Match Again," *ibid.*, p. 103.

¹⁴ The 1909 edition of the fables contained 112 illustrations; and their cartoon possibilities have emerged not only through the motion picture, but in the comic sections of many current newspapers as well.

emerges a second comic element, the quality of the graphic. There is a primitive, natural "cuteness" about the personalities of the animals, which may lie for us in the attractiveness of any miniature being or world. (We have long ago seen the appropriateness of the miniature for satire.) There is also a kind of cuteness in the scenes and situations. For instance, in "Miss Cow Falls a Victim to Mr. Rabbit," Brer Rabbit has tricked Miss Cow into butting a persimmon tree to shake down some persimmons for him. Harder and harder Miss Cow butts, until one horn is caught fast in the tree trunk, and there she is, readily accessible for milking. Brer Rabbit goes to get his family, "en 'twan't long fo' here he come wid his ol 'oman en all his chilluns, en de las' one er de fambly was totin' a pail. De big uns had big pails, en de little uns had little pails."

One visualizes with delight the rabbit procession, headed by Brer Rabbit and his ole 'oman, followed by their children in diminishing size, with individual milk pails to match. The little scene almost demands graphic representation, as do innumerable others where we note a characteristic detailing of the configuration or of the steps of the action, which gives a clearness of effect like a slow-motion film.

In addition to these elements of humor, the contrasts, and the graphic quality, there is of course the important element of language. Through this dialect Harris stated that he hoped to give "vivid hints of the really poetic imagination of the negro," and "to embody the quaint and homely humor which was his most prominent characteristic."¹⁵ A number of features here may be observed for their comic effectiveness.

The very brevity of the fables serves as a humorous element. In addition to creating an artistic suspense which leads us always on to further development in the next episode, it seems somewhat to condition the lineaments of the dialect. Words, rendered phonetically, are characteristically distorted: most often, through the omission of letters or syllables, they are abbreviated. Frequently they are telescoped into other words in a manner which somewhat prefigures (on a very low level) the word-amalgamations of the later works of Joyce. There is also a kind of word-augmentation which often emerges with the emphasis and comic effect of a

¹⁵ Harris, *Uncle Remus and His Songs and Sayings*, Introduction, p. viii.

double negative (frequently used by illiterate speakers). "Hit's mighty onwrong," says Uncle Remus. Or, with the propensity of the Negro toward rhetoric and grandiloquence, he uses such coinages as "I disremember," or "diserkommerdated." All of this—abbreviation, telescoping, augmentation—produces an ambiguity which is humorous in its mixture of confusion and clearness, and often too as a malapropism is humorous. The ambiguity is also humorous on a purely aural level.

Allied with the aural effects of word distortion is a simple humorous onomatopoeia. Characteristically, Uncle Remus incorporates "sound effects" to heighten the dramatic suspense of a scene: "Wham!" "Kerblam," "Lippity-clippity," etc. Or, upon occasion, he produces for the Boy vocalizations representing various animals, like Brer Terrapin, whose liquid gurgles arise from the water in the phonetic form "I-doom-er-ker-kum-mer-ker," a kind of dark murmuring sense in nonsense.

Another humor element appears in the use of rhythmic phrases and repetitions. Even in the prose form of the fables (excluding the songs of Uncle Remus) the element of rhythm is conspicuous, and contributes an earthy pleasure. Brer Rabbit, having again outwitted Brer Fox, sits on his porch chanting with a true Negro delight in rhythm:

He diggy, diggy, diggy, but no meat dar!
He diggy, diggy, diggy, but no meat dar!¹⁸

These frequent little chants also adumbrate a primitive magic and ritual, and the brooding overtones of a spirit world still immediate and real to the race from which the fables partly derive. Thus, generally, this is a "mixed"—which is to say a true—humor, which must inevitably contain an element of the darkly suggestive or of the disproportionate. Thus the comic quality, naïve as it is, is a major element of the "dressing" noted by Mark Twain, and makes more palatable the allegorical quality of the legends.

It is easily apparent why the Negro selected for his hero Brer Rabbit, the most harmless of animals, who is to be repeatedly victorious over the fangs and the superior strength of the bear, fox, wolf, lion, and even over the machinations of Mr. Man. It seems to be a clear case of his imaginative identification of Brer Rabbit

¹⁸ "How Mr. Rabbit Saved His Meat," *ibid.*, p. 103.

with himself, in a hostile social, economic, and spiritual world. Thus we may suspect some underlying serious intention for the fables. And we may feel with Harris himself the presence in them of the "melancholy" features which attend any true folk materials, as they convey symbolically the implications of a weak, perplexed, and struggling humanity.

Here as elsewhere, then, the comic or humorous is only the reverse side of the tragic, the conscious or subconscious rationalization of the irrational. And here again, we may recognize with Wordsworth that the worlds of the child and of the man, matured by the burden of experience into an understanding of Nature, both subjective and objective, may curiously and at last return to each other, to spin within the same essential orbits. The dimly apprehended truths of one era become the platitudes of another. But the platitudes, which touched by poetic imagination may become the myths, assume new meaning when seen in the unadulterated light of their origins. Such reillumination and re-emphasis are the enduring fascination and value of folk materials. When to the inherently poetic and "true" materials of the collective imagination is added a conscious individual artistry, as is true with the Uncle Remus fables, the blend may effect for us both an aesthetic pleasure and a sharper awareness of our present—collective and individual—which is also our past.

CRITICAL TENDENCIES IN RICHARD GRANT WHITE'S SHAKESPEARE COMMENTARY

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THE PROGRESS OF RECENT scholarship into the history of American criticism has opened up many facets of an interesting and exhaustive subject—interesting both for its own sake and as an index to the intellectual character of America. One tributary to this subject which deserves to be explored in its relation to the larger field and as a study in comparative cultures is the history of American Shakespeare criticism.¹ More than any other single literary figure, Shakespeare has become a sort of perennial barometer of critical taste and opinion. In the varying attitudes and philosophical commentary of American literary men and professional Shakespeare critics, the scholar may find a new and unified approach to the subject of American criticism as a whole. Moreover, by placing the American against the background of European Shakespeare criticism, one may come to see more clearly some of the distinguishing qualities of the American critics.

The present case in point is Richard Grant White, one of the greatest of the American editors of Shakespeare. White has usually been regarded as a textual scholar and as such his work has been highly ranked in American letters.² But the fact that he wrote a considerable body of interpretive criticism of Shakespeare and that he espoused ideas and points of view significant of a shift in the

¹ There have been two book-length studies of American Shakespeare criticism, as well as a number of articles or pamphlets on the subject. A. V. R. Westfall, *American Shakespearean Criticism, 1607-1865* (New York, 1939), has written the most complete account, making an especially valuable bibliographical contribution to the subject. Another general treatment of the subject is that of E. C. Dunn, *Shakespeare in America* (New York, 1939), which deals interestingly with the ways in which Shakespeare has functioned on the American stage and in our history.

² Lowell in his article "White's Shakespeare," *Atlantic Monthly*, III, 121 (Jan., 1859), felt that White's edition was "honorable to American letters" and that White, more than any other he knew, "possessed all the qualifications of a perfect editor." Jane Scherzer, "American Editions of Shakespeare, 1753-1866," *PMLA*, XXII, 687 (1907), concludes: "It is to textual criticism alone that this edition, called epoch-making, owes its main value." Westfall, *op. cit.*, p. 165, called White's edition "the most independent and the most scholarly which had appeared."

direction of American critical methods is not so widely understood.³ White's scholarly researches in the text and language of Shakespeare came first, and his twelve-volume edition (1857-1865) laid the groundwork for, and determined the character of, his later critical essays. Almost from the start his work showed an independence and original questioning of traditional attitudes at a time when the theories of Coleridge and the German critics largely dominated American thinking on the subject. Furthermore, his books and essays on Shakespeare, appearing mostly between 1860 and 1880, revealed White (quite alone in the period) applying historical and realistic methods to the study of the older English literature—methods which, as is well known, greatly altered the understanding and interpretation of Shakespeare in both Europe and America.

It is the present purpose to indicate the position of Grant White in the pattern of nineteenth-century Shakespeare criticism and, especially, to underline certain significant changes he helped bring about in the character of American critical writing in the 1860's and 1870's.

I

There was precedent in White's ancestry for the highly individual and authoritarian character of his thinking. His grandfather Calvin White joined the Church of Rome against strong family disapproval to satisfy his love for authority. The younger White, too, went his own way but grounded his intellectual life on the authority of reason and independent judgment. In private belief an agnostic, in manner and bearing "altogether aristocratic," in politics pro-English, Grant White earned the reputation in New York journalistic circles of being a snobbish, disagreeable Anglophile—an attitude which has persisted and which has obscured, in a measure, his very real contribution to American criticism.⁴

³ Bernard Smith, *Forces in American Criticism* (New York, 1939), p. 247, dismissed White's contribution to American criticism as ineffective because, he felt, White belonged to the genteel school of cultured Anglophiles and traditionalists. George DeMille, *Literary Criticism in America* (New York, 1931), p. 281, regretted being unable to include White, "the greatest of American Shakespeare critics," in his book. Westfall, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-266, has briefly acknowledged White's "original and independent spirit" in challenging the Coleridgean and German schools of Shakespeare criticism and as "marking the beginning of the reaction to the romantic school."

⁴ White was an independent socially as well as intellectually. He remained apart from the literary coterie of New York, though a lifelong resident there. His friends were few and highly select—Lowell, C. E. Norton, F. J. Child. Aside from Shakespeare, his main interests were music and linguistics. He early deserted the law for music criticism on the *Morning Courier* and *New York Enquirer*. His *Words and Their Uses* (1870) and *Every*

Reading Shakespeare was one of White's earliest passions. And throughout his later researches and criticism, one feels that his approach to the plays was always immediate and direct—not sifted through the opinions of others. With an independence of mind that was more American than his English leanings might suggest, White refused to accept the established canons of the romantic criticism of his predecessors—Verplanck, Hudson, Lowell, E. P. Whipple, and others. His work was largely accomplished without imitation, and his style was expressive of his personality and the original bent of his mind. This individualism, fundamental to White's critical work, accounted for some of the weaknesses of his Shakespearean criticism. But more important for American critical writing, it accounted for White's strong points as well—a breaking away from standards which had crystallized and a searching for new ones to take their place.

II

White's critical and editorial labors on Shakespeare covered a period of nearly thirty-five years, 1850-1884. His point of view consistently reflected the realism and objectivity of the historical scholar, but he was frequently carried away by his enthusiasm into extreme or contradictory conclusions. At first devoting himself solely to the text of Shakespeare, White had nothing but contempt for philosophical speculation on the plays. To undertake more than simply clarification of the text seemed to him "to verge upon impertinence."⁵ In his 1857 edition of the plays, as he wrote later, he "avoided as much as possible the introduction of aesthetic criticism" since it was his belief that "the duty of an editor is performed when he puts the reader, as nearly as possible in the same position for the apprehension of the author's meaning that he would have occupied if he had been contemporary with him."⁶

In 1859 White ventured upon criticism of a more interpretive *Day English* (1880) were studies in philology which stressed "reason" as the highest law in problematical matters of usage. (It should be noted that modern philologists have criticized White's stress on reason, pointing out that it too often took the color of White's own private views; see G. H. McKnight, *Modern English in the Making*, p. 537.) Another work, *England Without and Within* (1881), testifies to White's high regard for the English nation and culture. For information regarding White's life I am indebted to F. P. Church's essay, "Richard Grant White," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXVII, 303-314 (March, 1891).

⁵ *Studies in Shakespeare* (4th ed.; Boston, 1889), p. 52.

⁶ *Ibid.* See Lowell's statement about White's edition: ". . . he has a sincere desire to illustrate the author rather than himself" ("White's Shakespeare," *loc. cit.*, p. 121).

kind in his essay "Shakespeare's Art," which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Here he began to express ideas somewhat out of harmony with the main line of nineteenth-century Shakespeare criticism. While agreeing essentially with the Coleridgeans that Shakespeare was not "fancy's child" creating beauties effortlessly without recourse to the rules of taste and judgment, White went a step further with his insistence upon the "conscious Art" of the poet. One can feel the realistic emphasis in his statement that "the very act of writing implies an art not born with the poet." And "conscious judgment was there; there was no paroxysm of poetic inspiration, the workings of his mind were sane."⁷ While the tendency of Coleridge and his followers had been to claim for Shakespeare judgment *equal* to his genius, White came close at this time to denying entirely the romantic theory of genius and inspiration. Shakespeare, he says, always approaches us "upon the level of common sense"; he created not out of "an opium dream" but directly "from the superintendence of his reason and understanding."⁸

White gradually became bolder in his denunciation of romantic criticism. His first full-dress critical book with the wordy title, *Memoirs of the Life of William Shakespeare with an Essay toward the Expression of His Genius and an Account of the Rise and Progress of the English Drama*, appeared in 1865. In the Preface he announced himself as "one who having read the poet much and his critics little, has thought his own thoughts and trusted his own judgment."⁹ This volume contained White's rejection of a pet doctrine of A. W. Schlegel and the German critics—the concept that Shakespeare's plays reveal a central thought, moral, or philosophy of history. White remarked that the great dramatist would smile in wonder, could he know of the great ruling purposes and inner motives attributed to him by the German critics.¹⁰

⁷ "Shakespeare's Art," *Atlantic Monthly*, III, 659-660 (June, 1859).

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 666-667. The best analysis of Coleridge's critical ideas on Shakespeare is T. M. Raysor, *Coleridge's Shakespeare Criticism* (2 vols.; Cambridge, Mass., 1930). See also on this subject R. W. Babcock, *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1932). The latter shows that most of the critical viewpoints on Shakespeare which Coleridge professed to be "new" with him had been anticipated in periodicals and elsewhere in the last half of the eighteenth century.

⁹ *Life and Genius*, p. ix.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 268. Gustav Rümelin, one of the earliest German realists in criticism, revealed a tendency to belittle certain aspects of Shakespeare's art and, like White, castigated the romantic habit of seeing basic ideas in the plays. Also like White, and about the same time, he said that Shakespeare wrote for audience appeal and stage effect and not for German professors of aesthetics (*Shakespeare Studies*, 1874). See Augustus Ralli, *A History of Shakespearean Criticism* (London, 1932), II, 541.

Fifteen years later when White again undertook the role of interpretive critic, he was even more outspoken in his attack on this concept. In a series of articles designed to popularize the results of his researches, he spoke acidly of what he termed "the wonder-seeking school of Shakespearean criticism."¹¹ Applying the historical-scientific method of comparing Shakespeare's plays with their sources, he again hit out at the absurdity of reading inner psychological meanings and motives in the dramas. Shakespeare "simply took his stories and his personages as he found them, and wrought them into such dramas as he thought would interest the audiences that came to the Globe theatre."¹² For instance, he observed, there is the case of Coleridge's discovery of the subtlety by which Shakespeare introduces Romeo into the play in love with Rosaline. This, according to Coleridge, indicates a "strong insight into the passions" since it shows Romeo already love-bewildered and prepares for his attraction to Juliet. The absurdity of this, White points out, is patent in the fact that Rosaline was in all the sources, and Shakespeare merely left her there. The incident "was told before Shakespeare was born by half a dozen dull, prosing writers . . . whom no one ever suspected of insight into the nature of the passions, or insight into anything else."¹³

Historical scholarship, "the painful investigation by comparison of texts," "the research into the social fashions and intellectual habits of the past"—these were what Grant White substituted in criticism for the "inflated nonsense" (as he put it) and misleading speculation of the philosophical commentators.¹⁴ Though not always consistent, White was the first American critic of stature to speak out plainly for scientific principles of research and their appli-

¹¹ "The Anatomizing of William Shakespeare," I, *Atlantic Monthly*, LIII, 599 (May, 1884). The Roman numeral following the title refers, here and elsewhere in the footnotes, to different installments of the same articles.

¹² "King Lear," II, *Atlantic Monthly*, XLVI, 113 (July, 1880).

¹³ "The Anatomizing of William Shakespeare," I, *loc. cit.*, p. 603. In this article White applies source study to the interpretation of *Romeo and Juliet*, making a point by point comparison of the play with its various earlier models. Among other things he cites Coleridge and Schlegel in their justifications of Juliet's age, her surprising lack of sexual reserve, and Mercutio's early departure from the play, demonstrating that mostly Shakespeare was slavish in following his source. "The point of interest for us . . . is that in all these several versions . . . there was no variation in the course of the story, or in its personages, or their characters, their motives, their actions, or their fate . . . and consequently there was in all the same moral and artistic purpose that, in this regard, there is in our *Romeo and Juliet*. That is, there was none at all" (p. 605).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 596.

cation to criticism. He came to recommend "the reading of very little, or better, none at all" of criticism which has been called the "higher" kind. From this injunction he would not exclude Coleridge himself.¹⁵ As for the Germans, Ulrici and Gervinus, one was "a mad mystic" and the other "a very literary Dogberry"; and the sum of their writing on Shakespeare has been "maundering mystification and much ponderous platitude."¹⁶ In a fit of anti-intellectual indignation at the mass of philosophizing about Shakespeare, White warns the beginner to read the plays themselves. "Throw the commentators and editors to the dogs. Don't read any man's notes; or essays, or introductions. . . . Don't read mine. Read the plays themselves."¹⁷

III

White had struck a healthy note in American criticism by his debunking the extremes of the romantic worship of Shakespeare and by stressing historical methods. The corollary problem, however, of articulating a constructive theory to explain Shakespeare's superior abilities without falling into the superlatives of the Coleridgeans proved to be more difficult. Here White was hard pressed to reconcile the realistic attitude he had championed with his own very high opinion of the poet's genius; for he had derived from his study of the plays the belief that Shakespeare was "a miracle of men" and "the most nearly miraculous manifestation of the all-informing power that the earth has ever seen."¹⁸ White found himself in the dilemma of the realistic critic—how to avoid belittling his subject and at the same time skirt the pitfalls of excessive idolatry?

His solution to this question lay in a gradually evolving paradox by which White set up in clear contradistinction two sides of his subject—Shakespeare the man and Shakespeare the author. In his earlier work, following the romantic theory of organic genius in which the man and the writer are one, White had attributed the

¹⁵ *Studies in Shakespeare*, pp. 52, 54.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 54. Ulrici's thesis was that Shakespeare's work as a whole displays an inner unity and harmony, deeply ethical in purpose. Gervinus likewise attempted to show that Shakespeare labored for moral unity and that his plays grew out of a single organic idea. (See Ralli, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 325 ff. and 355 ff.)

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁸ "The Anatomizing of William Shakespeare," III, *Atlantic Monthly*, LIV, 260 (Aug., 1884).

greatness of the plays to the character of the man who wrote them. Then, White had thought much "of the man, as well as his works" and had felt "more and more the influence upon them of his greatness and beauty of soul."¹⁹ Slowly, however, as he pushed his reading and researches into the age of Shakespeare, he came to see the dramatist in a new light. There were documents testifying to business ventures;²⁰ there was biographical material indicating some moral lapses; and there was obvious proof of carelessness in his art. White now began to evolve a new interpretation of Shakespeare as a businessman whose motive was simply the art of "getting on." "Success, the getting and keeping of his own, were the ends he kept constantly in view."²¹ It may not be too much to suggest here that a rapidly emerging mercantile society in America after the Civil War had some effect upon White's material-success theory of Shakespeare's art. Shakespeare, he says, "was one of those who play to win."²²

Finally, White developed his businessman theory to an extreme nearly as extravagant in its way as was the romantic idea which elevated the poet to an immortal. He now felt that "between what a man is and what he writes there is no necessary likeness."²³ Furthermore, there were two Shakespeares—one was "the highest manifestation of genius in poetry"; the other "a third-rate money-making actor at the Globe theatre, motivated in his writing solely by the desire for filthy lucre."²⁴ Compelled to live by the stage, his first object was to get on in life. "He wrote what he wrote merely to fill the theatre and his pockets."²⁵

For good or ill, White here struck at the roots of the Victorian faith in the moral basis of all great art. In the same year, 1884,

¹⁹ "Shakespeare's Art," *loc. cit.*, p. 671. Compare E. P. Whipple's statement that Shakespeare was "individually as great, at least, as the sum of his whole works" (*Atlantic Monthly*, XIX, 719, June, 1876).

²⁰ White mentions certain lawsuits and business enterprises in which Shakespeare appeared to place profit and self-interest above the welfare of his father and fellow-townsmen ("The Anatomizing of William Shakespeare," III, *loc. cit.*, p. 266).

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

²² *Ibid.* An interesting variation of White's concept of the genius-businessman paradox in Shakespeare is E. A. Robinson's "Ben Jonson Entertains a Man from Stratford," where the dramatist is presented as a man deeply versed in the mysteries of the universe, while at the same time having as his life's ambition the achieving of social position and the building of a fine new house in Stratford.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

²⁴ "King Lear," II, *loc. cit.*, p. 114.

²⁵ "King Lear," I, *Atlantic Monthly*, XLV, 835 (June, 1880).

that Henry James, dean of American critics, was echoing the Miltonic belief that no great work of art could proceed from a superficial mind,²⁶ White calmly averred apropos of Shakespeare: "The notion that a good poet must be a good man may be dismissed without further consideration."²⁷

IV

The contemporaries of Grant White praised his independent spirit, but could not condone the extremity of some of his judgments. E. P. Whipple in his review of White's *Life and Genius of Shakespeare* wrote that the book was "full of solid information and sound criticism" and was distinguished for its "good sense." Whipple felt, though, that White's militant attitude toward his opponents and his dogmatic tone weakened some of his best arguments. Among his strong points as a critic, Whipple stressed White's courage in expressing unpopular opinions and his patient investigation of historical material.

There can be no doubt that White, like every other innovator, overstated his case. His insistence that Shakespeare wrote "entirely without any art-purpose or aim whatever" beyond the narrow desire to fill his pockets with "lucre" led him into absurdities and contradictions. His picture of a vulgar, second-rate actor creating in a careless and indifferent fashion works which reached "the intellectual summit of the human race" is as remarkable a distortion as any that the romantic critics had perpetrated. And in explaining the greatness of Shakespeare, White attributed vast mental powers to the poet which made his belittling of Shakespeare's private character seem strange indeed.

Again, White had argued himself full circle in the matter of Shakespeare's creative powers. His earliest criticism had, like Coleridge's, stressed realistically the conscious art of the poet. Later, however, in denying dramatic or moral purposes to the plays by way of undermining the position of the German philosopher-critics, White was forced to reverse himself completely. He came to assert that "the poetry, the philosophy, the revelation of knowledge of

²⁶ James's essay, "The Art of Fiction," *Longman's Magazine*, IV, 502-521 (Sept., 1884). Poe, of course, had spoken in "The Poetic Principle" (1850) of "the obstinate oils and waters of poetry and truth" and had opened the way for such a distinction as White was making. Though with a different emphasis, Poe was the first major American critic to question the union of art and morality in literature.

²⁷ "The Anatomizing of William Shakespeare," III, *loc. cit.*, p. 266.

the world and of the human heart, in which he has been equalled by no other of the sons of men, were all merely incidental to his purpose of entertaining his hearers profitably to himself."²⁸ This paradox was almost identical with the concept of Dennis, Rymer, and others that Shakespeare was "fancy's child" and that his works were an irregular accident of nature—a theory which White, in 1859, had been so assiduous to expose!²⁹

It is true, too, that White was never as far away from the school of Schlegel, Coleridge, and the romantic tradition as he thought himself to be. He used the terms "fancy" and "imagination" with much the same force as did the American romantics—Lowell, Emerson, Hudson, and Whipple. He held that, as far as Shakespeare's characters were concerned, the poet created them organically "from the necessities of his nature and the impulse that was within him."³⁰ Finally, when White came to discuss individual plays, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and others, he undertook to do precisely what he had condemned in others—he analyzed the central purpose and meaning of those works with considerable emphasis on Shakespeare's "psychology."

A thorough understanding of White's position as a critic (by way of summary) should take into account two things—first, his new emphases in the field of Shakespearean criticism and second, his championing of critical methods which later became important to American criticism generally. As to the first, it can be said that, even with his weaknesses and inconsistencies in the balance, White's influence as a scholar upon the interpretation of Shakespeare was a healthy one. By persistent reference to the "facts" of history, White exposed many of the absurdities inherent in the critical tradition to which he had fallen heir. On the positive side, in the field of style and versification, White's linguistic training and his musical inclinations carried him beyond most of his predecessors. H. N. Hudson, reviewing White's *Life and Genius of Shakespeare*, commends especially the author's discussion of the language and imagery of the plays. "Over this field Mr. White walks with the graceful

²⁸ *Studies in Shakespeare*, p. 214.

²⁹ An anonymous writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, LVII, 413 (March, 1886), noticed how this idea of White's was parallel to "the common idea that Shakespeare was a kind of Nature's foundling to whom the benevolent fairies had given great gifts of wisdom, beauty, and fortune as carelessly as if they were shining pebbles."

³⁰ *Studies in Shakespeare*, p. 28.

step of a master," he wrote.³¹ This accomplishment alone makes a rereading of White's criticism worth while for the student of Shakespeare.³²

Another point. The reader feels in White's work for the first time in American critical writing about Shakespeare that he is encountering an image of the poet himself rather than a reflection in a mirror gilded by romantic idealization. Even in the paradoxical and at times distorted picture White gives us, we feel solid ground underfoot—at least more so than in the reverential eulogisms of the romantic worshipers of the bard, from Coleridge on down.

As to the second point, White's place in the changing tastes and standards of American criticism, this much can be said. He consistently opposed the "eulogistic gush" of some of the romantics with hardheaded common sense and thorough historical research. Prematurely for the period in which he wrote, White drove a wedge between "philosophical speculation" and historical criticism, opening the way for the scientific scholarship of George L. Kittredge, T. W. Baldwin, E. E. Stoll, J. Q. Adams, and others in a later day. While he was only partially successful in harmonizing scholarship with the "higher criticism" of his day in their different approaches to Shakespeare, White's efforts in that direction should be mentioned in any study of American critical ideas.

And, finally, we should consider White historically among the first to give American criticism a distinctive turn away from the direction in which it had been steered by the powerful influence of Coleridge. In his militant opposition to the romantic school—even

³¹ *Atlantic Monthly*, XVI, 639 (Nov., 1885). See also Lowell's remark: ". . . a critic of music, [White] appreciates the importance of rhythm as the higher mystery of versification" ("White's Shakespeare," *loc. cit.*, p. 121).

³² See White's discussion of style in *Life and Genius*, pp. 236-252, where he brings both his experience in music criticism and his linguistic training to bear on the subject. After making a number of felicitous comments on Shakespeare's imagery in specific lines, he summarizes his discussion as follows: Music and poetry, above all the arts, are distinguished by a great freedom of expression in their power over sound. Like Mozart or Haydn, Shakespeare conformed to no laws of rhythm, developing increased license and irregularity in his handling of blank verse until even the caesural pause is lacking. The essence of his style, however, "is determined by an exquisite sense of the beauty of verbal form, working with an intuitive, though not unconscious, power in the adaptation of form to spirit." White also astutely ascribes the perennial appeal of the Shakespearean line to the fact that "the rhythm of English verse is dependent solely upon accent." Therefore, despite great changes in both vowel and consonant sounds, Shakespeare's verse is not deprived of its rhythmical and scarcely any of its musical quality.

in the weaknesses which his work on Shakespeare suffered as a result of this—White stands squarely in the forefront of a new realistic criticism. English in his personal leanings he may have been, but he was ahead of his American contemporaries in groping for critical standards independent of Europe at a time when the struggle to establish a national culture was still in uncertain mid-stream.

NOTES AND QUERIES

WALT WHITMAN'S LETTERS TO KARL KNORTZ

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FOR ALMOST FOUR DECADES the German-American scholar Karl Knortz (1841-1915) was engaged in interpreting and translating the works of American writers for German-speaking audiences. He published numerous critical works on American literature and wrote extensively on various phases of American civilization. In the eighties he became interested in Walt Whitman and began a correspondence with him.¹ He delivered a lecture on the American poet in several American cities and, subsequently, published it in the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* of December 17, 24, and 31, 1882. In his *Geschichte der amerikanischen Literatur* (2 vols.; Berlin, 1891), he devoted one chapter to Whitman and made frequent comments on his work. A monograph, *Walt Whitman, der Dichter der Demokratie*, appeared in this country in 1886 and, thirteen years later, was reprinted in Germany. This second edition contains a number of Knortz's translations of Whitman's poems and, in the appendix, the thirteen letters printed below.²

When T. W. Rolleston was preparing his German translation of *Leaves of Grass*, Knortz was called upon to collaborate with him. By 1884 Rolleston had finished the manuscript but met with difficulties when trying to get it published. In a letter dated September 9, 1884, Rolleston wrote to Whitman: "I offered it to four publishers before I left Germany, agreeing to pay all expenses myself, and all refused to take it up. I sent with my manuscript a copy of Freili-

¹ It is interesting to note that in a collection of *Modern American Lyrics*, edited by Knortz and Dickmann and published in Leipzig in 1880, Whitman was not included. For this omission the edition was severely criticized by the reviewer of the *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* (Sept. 4, 1880). Knortz came to this country in 1863 and lived here for the rest of his life. See the account of his life and work in my article "Karl Knortz, Interpreter of American Literature and Culture," *American-German Review*, XIII, 27-30 (Dec., 1946).

² *Walt Whitman, der Dichter der Demokratie*. Von Karl Knortz. II. Auflage. Mit den Beilagen: 1. Neue Uebersetzungen aus "Grashalme." 2. Dreizehn Originalbriefe Whitmans (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1899).

grath's article,³ and did all I could to secure a favorable hearing, but in vain. I am told there would probably be difficulties with the police, who in Germany exercise a most despotic power."⁴ Rolleston then suggested that Whitman try some German publisher in the United States. He referred to Knortz as "a useful person to apply to" and added in parenthesis: "If you know him, and could get him to glance through my proofsheets, I don't doubt that the work would be considerably improved."⁵ Knortz consented to revise Rolleston's manuscript and added a number of translations of his own.⁶

After considerable delay *Grashalme* was published in Zürich, Switzerland, in 1889, with the names of Knortz and Rolleston as translators on the title-page.⁷ Although Whitman was eager to have the original text printed with the translations, Knortz was unable to find a publisher who would print both versions. Furthermore, the edition was selective and not (as Whitman wanted it to be) complete. Knortz wrote a foreword and Rolleston the introduction. The actual text was prefaced by Whitman's dedication, which reads: "An die fremden Länder. Ich hörte, dass ihr etwas heischet, um dieses Räthsel, die neue Welt, zu lösen, Amerika euch zu erklären, seine athletische Demokratie,/Darum sende ich meine Gedichte, damit ihr in ihnen schauet, was ihr verlangt." The publication of the anthology has been called the beginning of a real German Whitman movement.⁸

The following letters show that Whitman was very much interested in the German venture and had great confidence in Knortz as translator and literary critic. He supplied Knortz with information about himself and his friends O'Connor, Bucke, and Traubel. He announced and sent him new publications. He informed him about

³ This article appeared in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 24, 1868. Cf. Otto Springer, "Walt Whitman and Ferdinand Freiligrath," *American-German Review*, XI, 22-25 (Dec., 1944).

⁴ Printed in Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (New York, 1915), I, 18.

⁵ Letter of Sept. 9, 1884 (*ibid.*, I, 19).

⁶ Whitman thought highly of Knortz and considered him and Rolleston "an extremely efficient team." He said of Knortz that he "must be an adept in rendering things in the German: he stands high" and added: "I feel as if I was in good hands" (*ibid.*, III, 489). On another occasion he said: "Knortz is a German and a scholar—I should prefer to have his opinion even to Bucke's" (*ibid.*, II, 389).

⁷ *Walt Whitman. Grashalme. Gedichte.* In Auswahl übersetzt von Karl Knortz und T. W. Rolleston (Zürich, 1889).

⁸ Harry Law-Robertson, *Walt Whitman in Deutschland* (Giessen, 1935), p. 37. The dedication is a German version of Whitman's "To Foreign Lands," to be found in Emory Holloway's Inclusive Edition of *Leaves of Grass* (Garden City, N. Y., 1931), p. 3.

critical material that might be of use to Knortz's studies. In his later letters he gave detailed descriptions of his failing health. The correspondence reveals that a real bond existed between the American poet and his German translator.

I

CAMDEN, N. J. Nov. 14. '82.

DEAR SIR;

Did you get "Specimen Days"?⁹ If not yet, please, write me and I will gladly send you a copy at once.

The papers, slips etc. received. I didn't want them again, as I have duplicates. I only want R. Schmid's book,¹⁰ Burroughs's Notes,¹¹ Scribner's Magazine,¹² the good grey poet,¹³ Leaves Imprints¹⁴ and the Scandinavian and Hungarian papers¹⁵ returned (but am in no hurry about it). John Burroughs lives about 50 Miles up the Hudson, his address is Esopus on Hudson.

WALT WHITMAN.

II

CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY, Nov. 15. '82.

The returned Scribner, R. Schmid's book, the Danish papers etc. received. I think neither John Burroughs Notes or O'Connor's pamphlet is now for sale. See pp. 316-317 Specimen Days.¹⁶ I send

⁹ *Specimen Days and Collect* (Philadelphia, 1882-1883).

¹⁰ In his *Buster og Masker* (Copenhagen, 1882), pp. 121-192; the Danish critic Rudolf Schmidt devoted a chapter to Whitman. Previously Schmidt had translated *Democratic Vistas* into Danish (*Demokratisk Fremblik*, Copenhagen, 1871).

¹¹ John Burroughs's *Notes on Walt Whitman* (2nd ed.; New York, 1871).

¹² Probably Edmund C. Stedman's essay on "Walt Whitman" in *Scribner's Monthly*, XXI, 47-64 (Nov., 1880). Stedman differs with some of Whitman's theories and objects to his "over-bodiness." On the other hand, he calls him a man of genius, of striking physical and mental qualities, excelling most writers in personal magnetism, tact, and adroitness as a man of the world, the avowed champion of democracy. Furthermore, Stedman refers to Whitman's minute knowledge and healthy treatment of the American landscape, of the phases and products of outdoor Nature. He states that Whitman represents, first of all, his own personality; secondly, the conflict with aristocracy and formalism, and remarks that against the latter he early took the position of an iconoclast, avowing that the time had come in which to create an American art by rejection of all forms, irrespective of their natural basis, which had descended from the past.

¹³ William Douglas O'Connor, *The Good Gray Poet: A Vindication* (New York, 1866).

¹⁴ *Leaves of Grass Imprints* (Boston, 1860).

¹⁵ The Danish monthly *For Ide og Virkelighed* and the Hungarian newspapers *Fovarv-silapok* and *Vasarnapi Ujsag* had printed biographical sketches and literary criticisms of Whitman.

¹⁶ *Specimen Days and Collect*, pp. 316-317. The reference is to a letter of Whitman's dated Dec. 20, 1881, granting permission for a Russian translation of *Leaves of Grass*. One

you by the same mail with this *Specimen Days* which, please keep as a little present from me, Dr. R. M. Bucke of London, Ontario, Canada, is preparing a book about me in which he is going to re-print O'Connor's pamphlet.

WALT WHITMAN.

III

CAMDEN, N. J. June 19. '83.

Thanks for the copy German rendering "Cradle endlessly rocking"¹⁷ and for all the other German renderings of my pieces which you have sent me and which I carefully keep and prize. Dr. R. M. Bucke has just published a book about me and my poems,¹⁸ and having two or three advance copies (in paper) at my disposal I should like to send you one. Shall I send it as before (by mail) to Cor. Morris Ave. and 155th Str.?

See the N. Y. Critic, June 16.¹⁹

WALT WHITMAN.

IV

CAMDEN, N. J. Jan. 10. '84.

DEAR SIR;

Yes, I have received the Dresden pamphlet,²⁰ I enclose you a late article of mine from the Critic.²¹ I keep about as usual in health this winter.—How do you get on with your new book?

WALT WHITMAN.

of the paragraphs of this letter reads: "As my dearest dream is for an internationality of poems and poets, binding the lands of the earth closer than all treaties and diplomacy—As the purpose beneath the rest in my book is such hearty comradeship, for individuals to begin with, and for all the nations of the earth as a result—how happy I should be to get the hearing and emotional contact of the great Russian peoples."

¹⁷ The title of the translation is "Aus der Wiege ewig schaukelnd."

¹⁸ *Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia, 1883).

¹⁹ The *Critic* of June 16, 1883, contains a summary of an essay on Whitman by Dr. P. Popoff in the Russian literary monthly *Zagranichny Viestnik*. Here Whitman is called "the only original and purely American poet" living in a country where man breathes more freely than anywhere else, human dignity is more respected, and the noble human traits are so far developed that for his songs the poet chooses as his subject "man himself, and woman equal to man." Dr. Popoff described a number of Whitman's poems and translated some of them. He concluded by commending *Leaves of Grass* to Russian translators. We are informed that for publishing the essay the *Zagranichny Viestnik* was suspended for the year.

²⁰ *Ueber Wordsworth und Walt Whitman*. Zwei Vorträge von H. B. Cotterill und T. W. Rolleston (Dresden, 1883).

²¹ Evidently Whitman sent Knortz "Our Eminent Visitors (Past, present, and future)," which had appeared in the *Critic* (New York) of Nov. 17, 1883. In this article Whitman reveals his world concept and invites foreign visitors to continue to come to this country

v

CAMDEN, N. J. April 27. '85.

MY DEAR DR. KNORTZ;

What is now the status of the Rolleston translation with reference to publication? I have seen your letter of some weeks since to Dr. Bucke—tell me of anything new—or probabilities. I particularly hope it is intended to give the English text of the pieces, either on the left hand page or running in smaller type at the bottom of every page and forming one third. — If you have some loose sheets (last proofs or what not) of your new "Representative German Poems" send me three or four pages.²² I don't want the book, but just want to see how it is made up, paged and printed.

My health is about as usual, except a worse lameness.

WALT WHITMAN.

For a number of months, neither Rolleston nor Whitman heard from Knortz, so that on August 4, 1885, Rolleston wrote to Whitman asking him to approach Knortz on the matter of the translation.²³ On September 10 Whitman sent Rolleston's letter with a note to Knortz: "Dear Sir: I send Rolleston's last letter to me—please look at the parts marked in blue—Did you get a note from me about two months ago? Walt Whitman."²⁴ This note Knortz answered immediately. He apologized for not writing and informed Whitman that he had been unable "to find a publisher who will print the German and the English," but that Mr. Schabelitz, of Zürich, would be willing to "publish a German text at his risk and pay all the expenses." He also mentioned that, according to Rolleston's wishes, he was adding a few of his own translations. As to his German-English anthology, he informed Whitman that he had no proofs but would send him a copy as soon as a new and revised edition had come out.²⁵

and become acquainted with all strata of society. He concludes: "O that our own country—that every land in the world—could annually, continually, receive the poets, thinkers, scientists, even the official magnates of other lands, as honored guests."

²² *Representative German Poems: Ballad and Lyrical*. German Text with English Translations (New York, 1885).

²³ The letter is printed in Traubel, *op. cit.*, III, 487-488.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 488.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 488-489.

VI

CAMDEN, N. J. June 14. '86.

DEAR SIR;

Yours received and I send you a few names I would like to have the address²⁶ forwarded to. I am about as usual in health. I wish you to keep me posted of any thing that occurs—and I will you.

WALT WHITMAN.

VII²⁷

CAMDEN, N. J. March 24. '87.

I am still here in good heart (good spirits) mainly—but almost entirely disabled and powerless to move about at all. Dr. Bucke is well and active at his post in Canada. O'Connor is very ill and is now in Southern California. W. S. Kennedy (Belmont, Mass.) has a book about me that is to be published in England soon.²⁸ I am quiescent, but think of publishing in collected and revised form my pieces of last four years in a little book "November Boughs".²⁹

WALT WHITMAN.

VIII

CAMDEN, N. J. May 3. '87.

Your letter received and welcomed as always. My visit to New York was a hasty flash only. I am more and more wretchedly physically disabled and feel better off here in my own den.

The "Anne Gilchrist" book³⁰ is a wonderful well done vol. and interesting very to me, because I knew and loved Mrs. G—but I doubt whether it contains much (or any thing) for you. I can loan you my copy if you wish. I will certainly keep you posted about myself, or any literary movement or change or happening of my work.

WALT WHITMAN.

²⁶ Probably Knortz's lecture on Whitman, which was published in New York in 1886 as No. 14 in a series of "Vorträge des geselligwissenschaftlichen Vereins."

²⁷ This and the following letter have been published in Emory Holloway's edition of *Walt Whitman, Complete Poetry and Selected Prose and Letters* (New York, 1938), pp. 1046-1047.

²⁸ Kennedy's *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman* (Paisley and London) did not appear until 1896.

²⁹ *November Boughs* (Philadelphia, 1888).

³⁰ *Anne Gilchrist: Her Life and Writings* (New York, 1887), ed. Herbert Harlakenden Gilchrist.

IX

CAMDEN, N. J. Sept. 10. '88.

The enclosed card has just come from Rolleston. — I have had a hard time with sickness (another spell of war paralysis, the fifth or sixth time) all summer—the serious attack warded off again—but extreme weakness of legs and body remaining—keeping me in my sick room so far—yet my usual mentality and good heart continued—my little new 140 page \$1.25 booklet "November Boughs" is finishing the print work and I shall send you a copy soon as it is done. I am to have all my books printed and bound in one large 900 page vol. too ("Walt Whitman Complete")³¹ soon ready—I am sitting in my room writing this, body almost paralysed.

WALT WHITMAN.

X

CAMDEN, N. J. Jan. 8. '89.

DEAR SIR;

Your note and German paper³² received, thanks. — I wrote you (same address as this) some ten weeks ago that Rolleston, Ireland, had received first proofs of the translation of L. of G. from Switzerland and wished you to see them. — I wrote to you to write and confer with him (R), but have no word from you. Did you receive my letter? or have you heard from R. or from the proofs or printer? — I fancy the translation must be out printed by this time. — I have nothing from R. now for a long, long while (with that exception).

I am laid up in my sick room, essentially the sixth recurrence of my war paralysis, and have been (two or three spells serious) for over seven months—but am now some easier and freer. — I am sitting up days most of the time—diet on mutton-broth and milk and toast bread—am very feeble, cannot get across the room without assistance—have a nurse, a good strong Canadian young man—my mentality the same as hitherto—have mean time brought out Novem-

³¹ *Complete Poems and Prose of Walt Whitman, 1855-1888* (Philadelphia, 1888).

³² Traubel made a free translation of Knortz's article on Whitman in the *Germania* of Steubenville, Ohio, which he read to Whitman on Jan. 16, 1889: "Among the old, yet active poets, figures also Walt Whitman; but he is rather a noble, humane, poetically inspired eccentric (or original) than a poet. What he wrote is mostly of poetic import—an art rhapsodic—but to rhythm, rhyme, and generally, to every one of the poetic forms, he is a stranger. Freiligrath has translated some of his poetic writings, and these read better in the translation than in the original" (*With Walt Whitman in Camden*, III, 547-548).

ber Boughs, 140 pages and a big vol. 900 pages, my "Complete Works" every thing poems and prose—both vols. at your service—best wishes and thanks.

WALT WHITMAN.

According to Traubel, Knortz immediately replied to this letter. He said he had received Whitman's "first letter" and had commissioned Charles DeKay to answer it at the time, but "through neglect or desire" DeKay had not done so. Whitman was also informed that Knortz had "authorized the interposition of a German proofreader, for security's sake, with the translation."³³

XI

CAMDEN, N. J. Feb. 14. '89.

Your card came yesterday, Rolleston has received in Ireland my big vol. (complete works). — I send one to-day by express—it includes Nov. Boughs and all—send me card when it comes safe. I hear from Dr. Bucke often; he expects to come here next week. My friend O'Connor is very ill at Washington. — I am imprisoned in the sick room now in the ninth month, entirely disabled in movement. — Pretty good heart this.

WALT WHITMAN.

XII

CAMDEN, N. J. April 8. '89.

The enclosed was brought this morning by the carrier.³⁴ Suppose you received some copies of the "Grashalme," as I did from Rolleston.

Am still laid up here by disablement and paralysis—am confined entirely to my room and mostly to my chair. I received your acknowledgment of the big book "Complete Works."

Dr. Bucke is well—hard at work managing the big Insane Asylum at London, Ontario, Canada. My dear friend O'Connor is very ill at Washington. — Am sitting here in big arm chair (with great wolf skin spread back) as I write—raw dark day—keep up pretty good spirits.

WALT WHITMAN.

³³ *Ibid.*, III, 547.

³⁴ Refers to a letter by the French literary historian Gabriel Sarrazin, a great admirer of Whitman, to Knortz. This letter had been addressed to Whitman.

XIII

CAMDEN, May 4. '89.

Am continuing on here much the same imprisoned in my room and chair and locomotion quite out of the question—mentality and brain action (while easily tired and sore at the best) remain, the muscles, especially my right hand and arm, good—spirits, sleep etc. fair—and the main elementary functions active at least half (or even plus half) to keep off so far my complete down fall.

I believe I told you I am preparing a small handsome pocket book bound edition of L. of G. including the "Sands at 70" and "Backward Glance,"³⁵ as a sort of commemorating my completion of 70th year (May 31, 1889). — Shall send you a copy when out. Sarrazin's book is out in Paris—"La Renaissance de la Poésie Anglaise 1798-1889." Papers on Shelley, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Tennyson, Robert Browning and W. W. A handsome 279 pp. book in the beautiful easy handy French style.³⁶

Your postal card of two weeks since received—have not heard anything more of "Grashalme" or Rolleston—hear frequently from Dr. Bucke—my dear friend O'Connor at Washington very ill yet—Wm. Walsh on the *Herald*, and Julius Chambers on the *World* are friendly to me³⁷—I am sitting in my big rattan chair by the oak fire writing this—sit here this way nearly all day—a young man, friend Horace Traubel (of German stock) comes in every day, is very faithful and kind and serves as medium to the printers. Write—

WALT WHITMAN.

POE IN 1847

CARROLL D. LAVERTY

Texas A. and M. College

LITTLE IS KNOWN of Edgar Allan Poe's personal life in 1847 beyond the fact that he was living in Fordham. Fortunately, however, there has come to light a new account of Poe by a woman

³⁵ *Leaves of Grass*, with *Sands at Seventy* and *A Backward Glance o'er Travel'd Roads* (Philadelphia, 1889).

³⁶ Published in Paris in 1889. The essay on Whitman is to be found on pp. 233-279.

³⁷ Julius Chambers (1850-1920) was editor of the New York *Herald* from 1886 to 1889 and managing editor of the New York *World* from 1889 to 1891. Thereafter he traveled widely in foreign countries and devoted much of his time to literary work. I have not been able to find any information about William Walsh.

who met him several times in the summer and fall of 1847. Her description of Poe in his home, about six months after his wife's death, complements that of Mrs. Mary Gove Nichols,¹ who sketched his life in the months before his wife died. This new picture, which shows Poe sometimes in a happy, informal mood, is by one who as a schoolgirl had visited Poe. When her recollections were written, she must have been approximately thirty years old, and certainly her account is more trustworthy than if it had been written fifty years later.

For scholars the new information corroborates other evidence as to the kind of life Poe experienced at Fordham, and throws light on the date of the composition of "Ulalume." The recollections also contain a new brief letter from Poe. The account, unfortunately with the name of the author indicated by only "Mrs. ———," was published in the section headed "Correspondence" under the title "Recollections of Edgar A. Poe" in the *Home Journal*, Whole No. 754 (July 21, 1860), page 3. At that time this publication was edited by George P. Morris and N. P. Willis. Probably the letter was sent to Willis, who for years both before and after Poe's death had done what he could to advance the reputation of Poe.

The reminiscences follow:

RECOLLECTIONS OF EDGAR A. POE.

Looking over a collection of daguerreotypes and photographs of old friends and acquaintances, a short time since, the face of Edgar A. Poe awakened many recollections of my acquaintance with him, and others connected with him. Although thirteen years ago, it seems but a very short time since I left school, and with my father made a summer visit to the city.

It so happened that I had opportunity during my visit to form the acquaintance of many of our first authors and artists then in town; and among others, that of Mr. Poe, which occurred in this wise. I was talking to a new acquaintance one day, (with, perhaps, something of school girl enthusiasm of the pleasures of city life, and of my enjoyment at meeting so many famous people,) who smilingly said, "I will take you to Fordham next week to see Mr. Poe, if you would like to go." Upon being assured that the visit would not be considered an intrusion

¹ *Reminiscences of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1931), first published in the *Six Penny Magazine* for Feb., 1863.

on my part, I eagerly accepted the invitation, and impatiently waited the appointed day. We left the city by an early morning train, (the distance is only fourteen miles, I believe,) and it was quite early in the forenoon when we reached the depot, from which we walked up a pleasant winding road with branching trees on either side, to Mr. Poe's cottage. I silently recalled "The Raven," by way of sobering my spirits to a proper degree of seriousness, being about to enter the presence of a grave and melancholy poet, as I imagined Mr. Poe to be.

We saw Mr. Poe walking in his yard, and most agreeably was I surprised to see a very handsome and elegant-appearing gentleman, who welcomed us with a quiet, cordial, and graceful politeness that ill accorded with my imaginary sombre poet. I dare say I looked the surprise I felt, for I saw an amused look on his face as I raised my eyes a second time, to be assured that his were the handsomest hazel eyes I ever saw. The expression of his mouth was not so pleasing; his lips were thin, and usually compressed; his voice, however, was agreeable.

Mrs. Clem [*sic*]¹—Poe's mother-in-law—whose face bore the traces of many sorrows, but who was always refined and ladylike, met us on the veranda. I noticed, in speaking to Mr. Poe, she always called him Eddie; and in her voice and actions showed all a mother's love. She kept house for him. His wife, who had been dead about a year,² I heard from others, was a very lovely woman, and tenderly attached to her husband. They kept no servant, but the house was a model of neatness and order; the parlor floor was covered with matting, and was simply furnished. A round table, with writing materials, some magazines, a few books, light chairs, and a pretty French print of a young girl hanging on the wall completed the furniture of the room. Here we sat. Some one remarking upon the picture, Mr. Poe said, "No, it is not the lost Lenore," and smiled as though the fair ideal was a very pleasant memory instead of a sad one. "Some of my friends," he added, "look above the door, as if in search of 'The Raven.'"

After dinner, we all walked along the banks of the Bronx, Mr. Poe pointing out his favorite ramble, where he was seldom interrupted, saying he liked it even on a rainy day. Tired with the walk, we sat under the trees, and while the gentlemen criticized the new books of the day and their authors, the ladies listened in admiring silence for the most part. Mr. Poe spoke much and well of the science of composition, more particularly of his own style—of "The Raven"—mentioning that he had recently written an article for one of the magazines on this subject.³

¹ She had died Jan. 30, 1847.

² This article, "The Philosophy of Composition," had appeared about fifteen months earlier in *Graham's Magazine*, XXVIII, 163-167 (April, 1846).

As a critic, I thought him severe to himself as well as others of whom he spoke; his quick perception of the beautiful and the heroic, together with his fine artistic sense and elegance of expression, rendered graceful and charming even his severest criticisms.

Among a number of other authoresses mentioned by Mr. Poe, was the name of Mrs. Osgood. Her poetry was characterized as sometimes careless, but always graceful and natural; more often beautiful and highly poetical—that she had an intuitive sense of the melody of verse, etc. In one of the pauses of this pleasant talk, one of the ladies placed on the head of the poet an oak-leaf wreath; and as he stood beneath the tree, half in the shade, the sun's rays glancing through the dark-green leaves, and lighting up his broad white forehead, with a pleasant, gratified smile on his face, my memory recalls a charming picture of the poet, then in his best days. ***

Mr. Poe and Mrs. Clem afterward called to see us in the city, and spent the day. I remember, on this occasion, to have worn an old-fashioned coral necklace, with a cross attached, which attracted the attention of Mr. Poe, and led to an animated conversation upon dress and ornaments, Mr. Poe remarking that he liked the necklace, and added:

“‘Upon her snowy breast a sparkling cross she wore,⁴
Which Jews might kiss and Infidels adore.’”

I inquired, “Whose are the lines? Yours, Mr. Poe?”

“No; Pope’s. Had you not read them?”

“No,” I answered; “I don’t like Pope—he is prosy to me.”

“But very sensible,” added Mr. Poe. “Then there are those lines of Eloise to Abelard, impassioned enough to touch the heart of any woman. But we were speaking of ornaments. Nothing is in good taste that is not needed to arrange the dress. It must be useful, or have the appearance of use; so the brooch fastens the collar of a lady’s dress, a necklace and bracelets dress the neck and arms when bare; and as for ear-rings! well, that is a pretty feminine caprice which I half like; they will do to hang poetic fancies on.”

At another time, speaking of engravings, and the unsatisfactory idea usually obtained of the appearance of authors from their portraits, as usually prefixed to their works, it occurred to me that I might make a small private collection of daguerreotypes, and Mr. Poe good-naturedly consented to make the beginning of my collection. He went with my father at once to the daguerreian’s, and on their return brought me the likeness, a copy of which I have enclosed you with these recollections,

⁴ Pope wrote “On her white Breast a sparkling Cross she wore,” *The Rape of the Lock*, II, 7. See Geoffrey Tillotson, ed., *The Poems of Alexander Pope* (London, 1940), II, 158.

remarking that it was "the most natural-looking he had ever seen of himself." Mrs. Clem added, "It is perfect."

At this time, Mr. Poe talked much of a new monthly magazine, and hoped, with the aid of others, to establish it. He was sanguine of success, but was disappointed. We left the city, and did not return until September. I learned then that Mr. Poe was in straitened circumstances, and that all of his projects had proved unsuccessful.

When I again saw Mrs. Clem, she was looking very anxious, though she spoke hopefully of what Eddie could do if he only could obtain some regular employment worthy of his abilities. Mr. Poe had grown thin, and I noticed a degree of nervousness unusual. Mindful of this state of his affairs, ——— proposed to him to write a poem suitable for recitation, about the length, and somewhat of the character, of Collins' "Ode to the Passions."

A few weeks afterward, I saw Mrs. Clem. She told me eagerly that Mr. Poe had written a beautiful poem—better than anything before; and the next day the following note was received by ———:

"I am anxious to see you for many reasons, not the least of which is I have not seen you for a long time. But among other things, I wish to ascertain if the poem which, at your suggestion, I have written, is of the length, character, etc., desired; if not, I will write another, and dispose of this one to Mrs. Kirtland [*sic*].⁵ Cannot Miss ——— and yourself pay us a visit this afternoon, or to-morrow?

"Truly your friend,

Poe."

It being inconvenient at the time to accept this invitation, Mr. Poe was so informed, and bringing the poem in the next day, ——— was absent, and the manuscript was handed to me. I asked if I might read it. He not only assented, but opened the roll, which consisted of leaves of paper wafered neatly together, and I noticed then and afterward that the writing was beautifully distinct and regular, almost like engraving. It was the "Ballad of Ulalume." He made one or two remarks in regard to the ideas intended to be embodied, answering my questions while he

⁵ If Poe wrote "Ulalume" in response to the suggestion of the friend, here unnamed, that poem was composed later than many scholars have supposed and less than three months before its original publication in the *American Whig Review* of Dec., 1847. Apparently Poe sent the poem to Mrs. Caroline M. Kirkland for the *Union Magazine*. But it was rejected. See Mary E. Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe the Man* (Philadelphia, 1926), II, 1246. For a statement that Poe composed "Ulalume" in the fall of 1847 and for a biographical interpretation of it, see Fred Lewis Pattee, "Poe's 'Ulalume,'" *Sidelights on American Literature* (New York, 1922), pp. 327-342.

read it to me, and expressing his own entire satisfaction with it.⁶

Not long afterward, he commenced writing a series of lectures, proposing to read them before different literary societies. I think he went soon after to Providence; but lectures were not in so much demand then as now, and his did not prosper. He grew melancholy, but worked with great industry, asking no assistance but honorable employment. He was proud and reserved as to his private affairs. I learned from others that sometimes he was intemperate, but I never saw him excited by liquor or any other stimulant. He was always, when I have seen him, a gentleman in the highest sense of the term; of manners most agreeable, the attentive deference with which he listened to others, and the manly independence, earnestness, and often eloquence, with which he sustained his own opinions, rendered his presence and conversation most desirable and interesting. There are many little fragments of his conversation that I can now recall, but I have already spun out these recollections beyond a reasonable limit.

Yours,

Mrs — —.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized through the year 1949 a joint-subscription rate of \$7.20 for *PMLA* and *American Literature*. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

The Duke University Press offers to students (graduate and undergraduate) who wish to subscribe to *American Literature* a special subscription price of \$2.00 a year. Subscriptions must be accompanied by an endorsement from the instructor in charge of the student's work in American literature. Blanks may be secured from the Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

J. B. H.

⁶ The Poe scholar today wishes longingly that he might know these questions, the answers, and Poe's own explanation of "the ideas intended to be embodied."

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN AMERICAN LITERATURE, 1933-1948

Compiled by LEWIS LEARY
Duke University

This list supplements E. E. Leisy and Jay B. Hubbell's "Doctoral Dissertations in American Literature," *American Literature*, IV, 419-465 (January, 1933). It contains dissertations as announced in "Research in Progress" from March, 1933, to March, 1948, plus additional titles and corrections which have been reported to the compiler. Titles are listed under two principal headings: I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS and II. DISSERTATIONS ON GENERAL TOPICS. Within these headings, individual authors or general topics are listed alphabetically.¹ When more than one dissertation has been announced on an author or general topic, the dissertations are listed alphabetically according to the names of the writers. When a dissertation deals with more than one author or topic, it is listed under each author or topic with which it deals. Dissertations in progress are printed in roman type with the date of first announcement following in parenthesis. Completed dissertations are printed in italics, followed by the date of completion.²

In some instances dissertations which at one time or another in the past have been announced as in progress or completed have not been

¹ The general topics under which dissertations are listed are:

ALMANACS, ANNUALS, AND GIFT BOOKS

ART	INDIAN
BIBLIOGRAPHY	LIBRARIES
BIOGRAPHY	LITERARY THEMES AND TRENDS
CHILDREN'S LITERATURE	NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS
CRITICISM	NEGRO
DRAMA AND THEATER	POETRY
EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP	PRINTING, PUBLISHING, AND BOOKSELLING
FICTION	REGIONALISM
FOLK LITERATURE	RELIGION
FOREIGN INFLUENCES AND ESTIMATES	SCIENCE
FRONTIER	SOCIAL ASPECTS
HISTORY AND POLITICS	TRAVELERS
HUMOR	and MISCELLANEOUS

² No attempt has been made to indicate whether a completed dissertation has been published. Certain universities require publication before the doctoral degree is granted; others have requirements which result in eventual publication of dissertations in full or in part. For a tabulation of this information, see "The Publication and Preservation of American Doctoral Dissertations," *Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities, 1946-1947* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1947), pp. ix-x. For information on the availability of published abstracts of dissertations, see "List of Periodic University Publications Abstracting Dissertations," *ibid.*, pp. xi-xii.

included in the present listing because they seemed too tenuously to deal with the subject of American literature. In making deletions the compiler realizes that he will inevitably please some and displease others—both those who wish he had deleted more and those who wish he had been more widely inclusive. Dissertations in American speech have been included only when they deal with an American man of letters or a literary movement or form.

This compilation is in the best sense the result of academic co-operation. The quarterly "Research in Progress" was managed by Professor Leisy from 1929 to 1938, by Professor Gregory Paine from 1938 to 1940, and by Professor Raymond Adams from 1940 to 1947. Most directors of dissertations have given friendly assistance in supplying information and responding to queries. The tedious task of breaking down alphabetical files to subject files was accomplished by my graduate assistant, Helen Parks. Margaret Brown, Gertrude Cannon, and Harriet Holman, of Duke University, have each helped lighten the load. Professor Hubbell and Professor Clarence Gohdes have been generous in encouragement and advice. Errors or omissions can be attributed to none of them.

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

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BOOK REVIEWS

PORTRAIT OF EDITH WHARTON. By Percy Lubbock. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1947. vii, 249 pp. \$3.00.

This book, delayed by the war, was undertaken shortly after Mrs. Wharton died in 1937, and at the request of her literary executor, G. T. Lapsley. Messrs. Lapsley and Lubbock agreed that in *A Backward Glance* Mrs. Wharton had furnished a sufficient biographical record, and that her letters were not sufficiently expressive for a collection of them to make an adequate record of her personality. Instead of a "Life and Letters" they decided that Mr. Lubbock should attempt a "Portrait." The critical survey of her writings which Mr. Lubbock is so admirably qualified to execute does not seem to have been discussed.

The *Portrait* is a distinguished work of art. Its originality lies in Mr. Lubbock's skilful adaptation of the devices of a "point of view" novel. He calls on almost a score of Mrs. Wharton's friends to express their memories of her personality and way of life: each is summoned at the appropriate moment; some are allowed to talk at length—an entire chapter is given to Charles Du Bos, perhaps the most penetrating in the book; others are checked at the end of a sentence; the interstices are filled with Mr. Lubbock's analysis and speculation. The method of presentation is especially suitable since for Mr. Lubbock the personality of his friend, split between worldliness and craftsmanship, remains at least a partial mystery. She is seldom allowed to speak for herself; now and then a sentence or two of her talk is given; at two crucial points there are short extracts from her letters (pp. 41-42, 225); and at another there is a poem, written in 1915, published for the first time (p. 135).

It is impossible to agree with Messrs. Lapsley and Lubbock in supposing that *A Backward Glance* is a sufficient record. That book failed notably in its picture of the marriage which ended in divorce after Edward Wharton's mind became diseased; and its account of Mrs. Wharton's relation with Walter Berry was not unnaturally left vague. Both the marriage and the relation were of high importance for the art by which Mrs. Wharton has a claim upon our interest. Mr. Lubbock admits that he never knew Edward Wharton well, and he fails—and the supporting witnesses fail—to bring him to life. For Walter Berry Mr. Lubbock feels an unmitigated dislike, and for a portrait he substitutes a gross caricature. Many other elements in Mrs. Wharton's life are left as vague as she left them in her own memoir. The vagueness is the more regret-

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NOTE: Several titles of dissertations completed or in progress have been received too late to be included in the present compilation. They will be listed in the "Research in Progress" section of the November, 1948, issue of *American Literature*.

table since her papers, given to Yale, will not be accessible for a generation.

Concerning Edith Wharton's art Mr. Lubbock reveals scarcely anything. She wrote only in the mornings, and had normally finished for the day by 11 A.M.; her novels ordinarily weighed upon her and often gave her serious trouble after she had written the expository chapters with delight, a delight she recovered as she approached the climax; after her serious illness in 1929 she did not recover her full artistic grasp; she supervised the French translation of *The Age of Innocence* with a vigilance that was almost a collaboration. It is a meager set of facts. Will not Mr. Lubbock give us another book on Edith Wharton's art, on what she did with the part of her day that really mattered, the part before 11 A.M.? His article "The Novels of Mrs. Wharton," in the *Quarterly* for 1915, is still the most perceptive study they have stimulated; but 1915 was only the half-way mark.

University of Chicago.

E. K. BROWN.

JOURNALISM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Robert W. Jones. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. 1947. xvi, 728 pp. Indexed. \$7.50.

Journalism is the business of managing, editing, writing for, and publishing newspapers. In strict usage a history of journalism should not include magazines, or the multitude of learned, special, and trade journals. Even with these limitations, the complete discussion of journalism is a laborious task of research and composition. Apart from the examination of the files of newspapers issued for over two hundred years, there are books on great newspapers, such as the New York *Sun* and the New York *Times*, and the biographies of editors, such as Greeley and Hearst.

A complete study of journalism should give extensive information about each of the following matters: (1) the history of printing as it affects newspaper publication; (2) a chronological history of newspapers, with facts about the contents, editors, and contributors; (3) the social and political life which the newspapers reflect. Since the recent books on journalism have been written by professors of journalism, especially James M. Lee, Frank L. Mott, and the author of this book under review, Robert W. Jones, professor of journalism at the University of Washington, there are often chapters on the art of writing for newspapers, to be studied by the students of journalism. Obviously no single volume of seven hundred pages can adequately treat all of these subjects. Each one-volume work by Hudson, Lee, Payne, and Bleyer is good, but incomplete. Frank L. Mott's *American Journalism* (1941) is so readable and accurate

that one wonders why Professor Jones attempted another book on the subject.

The history of printing in America is so huge a subject that it has been adequately studied only in the Colonial period. Douglas C. McMurtrie published many monographs on the imprints in most of the colonies and states, but his recent death left his *History of Printing in the United States* incomplete, with the publishing of only Volume II, *Middle and South Atlantic States*. Albert H. Allen is completing McMurtrie's valuable compilations by preparing *The Bibliographies of American Imprints*, under the supervision of The Bibliographical Society of America.

In his research on the history of American newspapers, Professor Jones probably did not use the following monumental works, for he makes no mention of them: C. S. Brigham's *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers 1690-1820* (2 vols., 1947), which had previously appeared in the *Publications of the American Antiquarian Society*; Winifred Gregory's *American Newspapers 1921-1936. A Union List* (1937). He undoubtedly got his facts from the previously published books on journalism, acknowledging his "heavy debt to Hudson, Payne, Lee, Bleyer, Buckingham and Thomas." This was an easy method.

Professor Jones begins his history of American newspapers with a reprint of the single issue of Benjamin Harris's *Publick Occurrences* in Boston in 1690, and continues with one or more chapters on each of the following: Campbell's *Boston News-Letter*, first issued on April 24, 1704; Brooker's *Boston Gazette*; Andrew Bradford's *Philadelphia Weekly Mercury*; James Franklin's *Boston New-England Courant*; William Bradford's *New York Gazette*; Keimer's *Philadelphia Universal Instructor*, which became Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*; Zenger's *New York Weekly Journal*, and the Zenger "seditious libel case"; and Green's *Hartford Connecticut Courant*. In the last decades of the eighteenth century nationality was achieved in thirty-seven newspapers, including Edes and Gill's *Boston Gazette* and Thomas's *Massachusetts Spy*.

The political leadership of newspapers after 1789 is sketched in such party papers as Russell's *Massachusetts Centinel and Republican Journal*; Bache's *Philadelphia Aurora and General Advertiser*, which espoused republicanism and love of France; Cobbett's *Porcupine's Gazette*, which lost a libel suit for \$5,000 to Bache; Fenno's *Gazette of the United States* with Federalist support; and Freneau's *National Gazette*, which satirized Fenno and the Federalists. In dozens of other newspapers political demagoguery and personal libel were printed unchecked, except by fists, canes, and dueling pistols. The decade of 1830-1840 brought the penny

papers, "which succeeded in reaching new readers and popularizing newspaper reading." Ben Day launched the New York *Sun* in 1833, James Gordon Bennett started the New York *Herald* in 1835, and dozens of other dailies were published with success. There are short chapters on the Springfield *Republican*, the Baltimore *Sun*, the Chicago *Democrat*, and Greeley's *Tribune*. In hurried chapters the author races through the "Postwar Boom, Corruption and Depression," with some account of Dana and the *Sun*, of country weeklies, and of co-operative news gathering. In Section VIII he discusses such interesting matters as the "Yellow Press," "Conservative Papers," and "The Chain Newspaper Era."

It is apparent that the last section of about two hundred pages was written for journalism students, with the first chapter on "Education for Journalism," and the final chapter closing with the pedagogical appeal: "Whatever lies ahead, there is need for a fearless, factual, forward-looking press, one that lives up to its best tradition."

The professor of American literature examines this book for possible use by himself and his students with disappointment. He finds scant references to the many authors who were editors of newspapers or frequent contributors. Among them were Franklin, Paine, Freneau, Wirt, Irving, Bryant, Cooper, Poe, Whittier, Longstreet, Whitman, Harris, Howells, Harte, and Clemens. He is irritated by the error in calling Franklin's Silence Dogood, Silence dogwood, the misspelling of Edgar Allan Poe in three instances as Edgar ALLEN Poe, and the quick dismissal of Bryant's *Evening Post* as "a respected but by no means a dominant [*sic*] newspaper." There should not be included a history of magazines in a book on journalism; yet four magazines are briefly described: *Godey's Lady's Book*, Burton's *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Knickerbocker*, and the *Southern Literary Messenger*. Probably the facts about these magazines, but not the inaccuracies, were obtained from F. L. Mott's *History of American Magazines 1741-1850*.

Probably we are expecting too much from a single volume on newspapers. The whole history should be lengthened to several volumes, by several authors, of whom one should be a specialist in American literature.

University of North Carolina.

GREGORY PAINE.

THE AMERICAN THESAURUS OF SLANG WITH SUPPLEMENT: *A Complete Reference Book of Colloquial Speech*. [Foreword by Louise Pound.]

By Lester V. Berry and Melvin Van Den Bark. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1947. xxx, 1174 pp.; v, 57 pp. \$6.50.

This thesaurus is a compilation of all the American slang past and present that the editors and their staff could find; there is, of course,

much here that originally we imported from Britain. The body of the book contains not an alphabetical list but a series of lists arranged according to concepts and relationships. For instance, in the first section are words that describe time, order, change, quantity, quality, etc. Other sections group words that deal with space, place, and motion; with dress, food, and drink; with life and death and the physical body; with personal characteristics and activities—reputation, stupidity, behavior and misbehavior, morality and immorality, love, marriage, sexuality, etc. Then there are specialized lists of slang of the underworld, of trades and occupations, of sports, of railroading, of the Army and Navy, and of Western life. The first edition of this thesaurus was published in 1942; *American Literature* carried a brief notice of it in Volume 14, page 197. The 1947 edition has a supplement listing primarily teen-age and jive talk and the vocabulary of World War II.

The amount of compiling done for this thesaurus was enormous; the two alphabetized indexes alone amount to 343 pages. The book therefore makes interesting and amusing reading; it is full of lively and surprising matter; it is a fascinating book to leaf through and an easy book to find things in.

There are hundreds of words in it which have not yet reached the standard dictionaries, many of which, of course, will never reach them. And for words that are found in the standard dictionaries, there are many additional meanings, as for instance "fine" and "perfect" for *kosher*, and "a tough section of town" or "a red light district" for *skidroad*. What Miss Pound's foreword says is true: the work enables readers of contemporary fiction "to follow shades of meaning," and to make "the vocabulary of the characters intelligible." Also, since the thesaurus makes quickly available hundreds of words that are passing or will pass from slang to normal colloquial speech, it is an invaluable check list for students of present-day lexicography; for instance, any person who recorded "out of this world" first in 1945 and thought it new that year, may find it already listed among the swing words in the original, the 1942, part of the volume.

But a student of language will find the book of limited value. If he wishes to study, for instance, the history of a word or its locale, he will find little help here. There is nothing by which to tell which words have lived long and which have not; which belong to normal colloquial and which are whimsical and temporary equivalents of it; which are authentic and which are counterfeit. The very old word *nab* and the new word *larcenate* are both under *steal* with no differentiation between them; *dark town* and *sepia city* are both under *negro district*; and *shavetail* and *one-star wonder* are under *second lieutenant*. Indeed there is through

the whole work a failure to differentiate between that colloquial which has vigorous and long life and that colloquial—correctly called slang—which lives in a hothouse for only a few years. This is the fault of most dictionaries and word lists of slang and colloquial English, as Morroe Berger has shown in his "Some Excesses of Slang Compilers" in *American Speech* for October, 1946. Incidentally, though some of the four-letter words received mention, others did not.

On the title-page the publishers call the work "A complete reference book of colloquial speech." But Miss Pound writes more wisely, "No record of slang can ever be complete." The book has such an enormous amount of matter in it that there was no need to overshoot the mark on the title page.

The University of Virginia.

ATCHESON L. HENCH.

GOLDEN MULTITUDES: *The Story of Best Sellers in the United States.* By Frank Luther Mott. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1947. xii, 357 pp. \$5.00.

In 1942 Professor Mott went to Topeka to talk with the Reverend Dr. Sheldon about the sales of *In His Steps*. Having traced the often repeated estimate of an eight million sale to the author himself, Mr. Mott wished to determine whether it was based on facts. He found that the good doctor had a "strong feeling for the romance of fine round numbers," and a liking for "anecdotes of miscellaneous guesses which enthusiasts had made." Mr. Mott thereupon got estimates from the surviving five of the seventeen unauthorized publishers of the work, and trimmed the estimate down to two million. We shall all miss the old familiar figure.

The episode illustrates Mr. Mott's method and his caution; it suggests, too, that there are few reliable sources for the kind of book he has written. One is grateful that in his years of labor with American periodicals he has stored up a vast amount of information about best sellers and that he has been justifiably suspicious about a good deal of it. But he has supplemented these gleanings with data from publishers, who are chronically indifferent about their old records and who frequently do not know how to use those that have been saved. Mr. Mott reports that the first edition of *The Scarlet Letter* totaled 4,000 copies, and gives the impression that it continued to have a lively sale. The Ticknor records (soon to be published) show that the first printing was of 2,500 copies, that the type was then distributed, and that it took well over a year to sell 6,000 copies. He states that *Hiawatha* sold 10,000 within a month, and 50,000 within five months. The right figures are 8,000 and 30,000. Almost all

of his statements about the first and subsequent Harper editions of *Moby-Dick* are simply wrong. Inasmuch as he seems to have used, ordinarily, the best available information in print, these corrections merely point up the truth of his statement that the book is a "pioneer expedition, and has the weaknesses and vulnerability of such ventures."

Read in the spirit of the subtitle (it is, after all, a *story*), the book is a plain, sensible, often amusing account of those books, native and foreign, from *The Day of Doom* to *Forever Amber*, which have had the largest audiences in the United States. The author's chief objectives were to determine what books have sold best and to describe in more or less detail the contents of the important ones. He rightly avoids the difficulties of sociological interpretation, but cultural historians will find them easier to contend with now that we have been provided with a chart.

It is easy to accept Mr. Mott's major generalizations: that at any given time there are several distinct best-seller publics; that there is no typical best seller; and that there is no relation between the popularity of a book and its literary quality. Yet there are serious objections to his policy of applying the same statistical and critical methods to books popular in their time and to literary classics which have taken seventy-five or a hundred years to win popular recognition. His device for determining popularity is to judge (usually he has to guess) whether the total sale of a book, from date of publication *to the present*, equals or exceeds one per cent of the population in the decade in which it appeared. Now there is probably a significant relation between population in the 1930's and the sale of the presumably ephemeral *Gone with the Wind*. But what about such a classic as *The Scarlet Letter*? One per cent of the population in the 1850's was 225,000. Hawthorne's novel sold less than 12,000 in its decade, but it may have sold more than half a million since it emerged from copyright in 1892. The population of the 1850's, therefore, has no relation whatever to the sale of *The Scarlet Letter*. One might add, too, that, unlike *Gone with the Wind* but like many classics used in schools, *The Scarlet Letter* has had many reluctant purchasers.

It is only fair to say that Mr. Mott realizes the faultiness of his device and that he chose it because he could not think of a better one. In its field his book is indispensable, but the scholar must take the author's warnings literally.

Ohio State University.

WILLIAM CHARVAT.

AMERICA IN PERSPECTIVE: *The United States through Foreign Eyes*. Edited with an introduction and notes by Henry Steele Commager. New York: Random House. 1947. xxiv, 389 pp. \$4.00.

This is a refreshingly readable anthology of foreign commentaries, 1782-1945. Commager has selected for quotation thirty-seven authors, of varied nationality and fame, starting with such remembered names as Crèvecoeur, Cobbett, Lieber, and Tocqueville—proceeding through the great British middle group, from Martineau to Bryce—and winding up with twentieth-century authorities as challenging and diverse as Chesterton, Madariaga, and Münsterberg, not to mention Buchan, Brogan, and Victor Vinde.

"Americans are the western Pilgrims," wrote Crèvecoeur at the end of our Revolution. "He is an American who, leaving behind all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced." And one hundred and sixty years later a Swedish journalist would record: "He knows: there will be a tomorrow. And he believes in tomorrow."

Bracketed between these comments the reader will find a whole series of brief and quotable extracts, each captioned provocatively, and chosen so as to avoid vulgarity, impertinence, and malice. "It is not the sensational I sought, but the philosophical." No Mrs. Trollope here. Instead the reported commentators all speak to a central and thought-provoking problem: the meaning of America.

What is an American? And what makes him so different? Twenty-five years ago Allan Nevins, in his *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers*, brought together a vast store of illuminating commentary. Yet still the question teases. "What then is the American, this new man?" asked A. M. Schlesinger (in the phrase of Crèvecoeur) in his presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1942. And Commager quotes Winston Churchill: "What kind of people do they think we are?"

Comparing the contributions that Commager, Nevins, and Schlesinger have each now made to the elucidation of this riddle, scholars will find that Nevins's anthology was, in its line, considerably more thorough than *America in Perspective*. Nevins quoted only twenty-nine authors, and these all British; but he quoted them generally at greater length and in a far richer variety of selection; he introduced his authors more informatively; he described the experiences of other, unquoted travelers; and he concluded with a most useful annotated bibliography.

In Commager the biographical and editorial aids are pared to a minimum. Nor is there any attempt (as in Nevins) to catch the changing

moods of the travelers, or the gradual evolution of new facets of national character, through successive periods of Tory condescension and utilitarian inquiry. For where Nevins was primarily interested in the portrayal of our (changing) social scene, Commager has sought, often from the same authors, what was unchanging in American character. Thus nine English travelers, used by Nevins, are quoted also by Commager, six of them in almost identical passages. But where Nevins often gave himself the advantage of fulness (as in the passages from Marryat and Arnold), Commager has stricken out everything that was not germane to his inquiry. Vice versa, Commager enlarges Nevins's quotation from G. W. Stevens, so as to include this happy comment on the genus American, *the electric Anglo-Saxon*: "Even while you differ or laugh, he is essentially the man with whom you are always wanting to shake hands." Again, where Nevins, for contrast and perspective, deliberately passed over *The American Commonwealth* in favor of Bryce's 1905 essay on "America Revisited—Changes of a Quarter Century," Commager prefers to reprint from the classic of 1888 the impressive sections in which Bryce analyzes the faults and strength of American democracy. Finally, Commager's scheme allows him to draw on Continental and Eastern commentaries, including two from Hungary, and one each from Norway, Sweden, Poland, Switzerland, Spain, Russia, and China. And his book is weighted in favor of the last sixty years—precisely the period where Nevins tapers off. Despite the marked overlap, the two anthologies may therefore be said to complement each other.

Commager's preoccupation with the permanent, rather than the transitory, has made it possible for him to attempt also what Schlesinger has attempted: to list our unvarying qualities. Like Schlesinger, he names a score of qualities, good and bad. The two lists turn out to agree on our optimism and belief in progress, our industry and materialism and restlessness, our equalitarian idealism and our (hitherto) high sexual morality. Schlesinger, however, was not content with foreign impressions, and tried systematically to relate qualities to cause. It seemed to him that "the long tutelage to the soil" must have been the chief formative influence. Hence an emphasis on versatility, mechanical ingenuity, and individualism; hence also our distrust of specialization and lack of aesthetic concern. With the rise of cities, later on, came inevitable reversals, in particular the decline of individualism, and the growth of aesthetic interest and faith in the expert.

To American historians it will perhaps come as a surprise that the *frontier* is given so little credit for Americanisms. For Schlesinger obviously preferred a safer position: an agrarian-urban interpretation in place

of the wilderness hypothesis. And our visitors generally would appear to have found the frontier more spectacular than important. Indeed, Commager seems to be a little uncomfortable about it, for he makes his one noticeable interjection at this point, saying that much of our equality stemmed from the frontier, "and America was a land molded by the frontier." Unhappily, his supporting quotation from Crèvecoeur proves to be out of context and quite misleading. And the rest of his evidence in favor of frontier Americanization is not impressive.

In the main, however, Commager does not attempt to be genetic; and his list of Americanisms falls into no neat, deterministic patterns. Rather he lets his authors—and many a nameless traveler he has read—emphasize at random such qualities as our overwhelming hospitality, our willingness to experiment, our excitability. To single out authors or remarks for approbation will be each reader's game. I was struck by Alexander Mackay's remark that our Republic had never had a national infancy. "The colonies were, in a measure, old whilst they were yet new. They were as old as England herself in point of moral, and new only in point of material, civilization." Again it is Mackay (and Commager) who points out that our patriotism has been attached neither to soil, nor locality, nor family, nor class, but to abstract theories and constitutional documents. Hence limitless mobility without loss of unity. (Let the Freedom Train stand as symbol.) For delicious foolery, I recommend Raoul de Roussy de Sales on "Love in America." And I cannot forbear calling attention to two choice selections from the incomparable Tocqueville. What Tocqueville had to say about the military is provocative; about historians in a democracy, simply stunning.

Yale University.

G. W. PIERSON.

A SOUTHERN VANGUARD: *The John Peale Bishop Memorial Volume*. Edited by Allen Tate. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. [1947.] xi, 331 pp. \$4.50.

As the most self-conscious member of the nation's body the South has an unrivaled record: championing states' rights in nineteenth-century politics, resisting the great social and economic revolutions of the nineteenth century, and now nurturing a literary renaissance on its own history. Of this last manifestation of its egoism especially, and to some extent of them all, *A Southern Vanguard* is a brilliant example. To what extent it is an example of something more—of sound criticism, felicitous verse, skilful narrative—is a less determinate matter.

The title is apt. It has a military sound which seems to echo from the heroic period of the Confederacy, while at the same time it plants a

foot firmly in the future as if thereby to redeem the past. So, in fact, do most of the authors represented in the volume, which is edited by Allen Tate and dedicated to the memory of John Peale Bishop. An uncollected Bishop essay and poem are perhaps the most interesting items bibliographically, and the other twenty-six essays, poems, and stories were entered in the John Peale Bishop Memorial Literary Prize Contest conducted in 1945 by the *Sewanee Review*, of which Tate was then editor, and Prentice-Hall. All are products, as stipulated, of natives or long residents of the South.

Issued under such circumstances this anthology could but be "Southern" and *avant-garde*, as a collection of reprints from Harold Ross's *New Yorker* must bear the stamp of another contemporary literary tradition. Yet the most notable pieces in it are those essays whose practice of strictly a priori analysis is more Aristotelian than the general theory of the "New Criticism" that art is commensurate with knowledge. Malcolm Cowley's prize-winning "William Faulkner's Legend of the South" (incorporated in his introduction to the *Portable Faulkner*) and Louis B. Wright's "Myth-makers and the South's Dilemma" are models of insight, faithful reporting, and careful writing. Nathan L. Rothman's "Thomas Wolfe and James Joyce" contributes substantially to the often insubstantial body of writing about Wolfe, and R. W. Stallman's "The New Criticism and the Southern Critics" is a valuable synthesis of the tenets, widely scattered in print, of the Tate-Ransom school.

But to define dialectically the South, the Southerner, the Southern "quality," as others of these essayists do, is to eschew scientific method altogether. To insist, as has been insisted before, that this region is unique in an extraordinary sense and that its triumphs and defeats, its vices and virtues require extraordinary explanation is to cross over to the side of the myth-makers. And to attempt to compensate for yesterday's political failure by claiming the emotional and aesthetic leadership of today is to enlarge an already oversize legend. The parallel of Ireland in the British Commonwealth comes inevitably to mind—a parallel which may, as Ellis Arnall suggests, appear less casual when the sources of Southern immigration become fully known.

To pass to the volume's fiction, moreover, is to see some of the oldest Southern myths in the process of being preserved: the myth that the South suffers from a guilt complex regarding the Negro, that it has more than its share of psychopathic characters, that it is a land of violence, that its sons are repressed. Mary N. S. Whiteley's story of a Jewess in Nazi Germany is curiously in tone. Less gothic than its competitors but less distinguished than the winning essay is the winning story, Andrew Lytle's

"The Guide." James Ross's "A Man of Doubtful Character," an undoubted descendant of the frontier tall tale, displays at least as much ability and more verve.

In contrast to this prose the *Vanguard's* poetry has few regional distinctions. At its best (Randall Jarrell's "The Märchen," awarded the prize, G. M. O'Donnell's "Time's Well," with its echoes of Emily Dickinson, Robert Daniel's Eliotesque "The Problem of Evil," Katherine Hoskins's ballad-like "Frank and the Vagrant Woman") it exhibits the economy of language, the classical conception of man and his limitations, the intellectual imagery, the impersonality current in English poetry. Judged by the canon of this poetry, however, it generally fails to achieve the balance of Tate's "tension" or to find Eliot's "objective correlative," and in consequence remains both obscure and prosaic. Though purporting to represent an absolutism in art, these lines lack the memorability, the inevitability of thought and emotion linguistically fused.

The truth is that there is not now and never has been a literary tradition of integrity in the South. There are instead, as there have always been, a few individuals of independent genius and a vogue of rhetoric, melodrama, and sensibility. *A Southern Vanguard* offers little to alter the picture. Its exclusion of the drama from both exhibition and criticism is perhaps significant. Compared with the number of novelists in the South today there are few playwrights indeed, and their chief contribution has been to the informal folk theater. The formally more exacting drama—indeed, the structurally formal novel—have no masters in the land. *Look Homeward, Angel*, for all the Joycean echoes identified by Mr. Rothman, is not a *Ulysses*. In the achievement of her independent sons, at any rate, Ireland has often had the better of the region below the Potomac.

Maryville College.

NATHALIA WRIGHT.

PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR AND HIS SONG. By Virginia Cunningham. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. 1947. 283 pp. \$2.75.

When Virginia Cunningham was teaching in the public schools of Dayton, Ohio, a Negro boy challenged her encouragement with "What's the use? I'm black." Her answer was to tell him of Paul Laurence Dunbar, the Negro poet, who wrote some of his best verse while he was an elevator boy in Dayton. Finding that too few people knew Dunbar and his poems, Miss Cunningham set about collecting material for a biography of him that would serve as an inspiration for Negroes and a challenge to whites who flaunt the color lines. The dust jacket of her

book carries the statement "For anyone from high school up," a sufficient warning that hers is not a scholarly treatment of the subject.

Dunbar, in his second volume of poems, *Majors and Minors*, allowed his picture to appear as a frontispiece—not for self-advertisement but to show that he was a Negro. The same feeling made H. A. Tobey, Dunbar's friend and benefactor, exclaim when he first saw him, "Thank God he's black. . . . I mean thank God he's dark enough so that whatever genius he may have cannot be attributed to white blood." The time had arrived on the American scene when a man of pure African ancestry could win recognition as the poet of his people. It is time now, perhaps, to evaluate Dunbar as a poet rather than as a black poet, but this new biography still places the emphasis on the latter.

Dunbar's songs fall into three general types: poems in Negro dialect and rhythms, poems of racial feeling, and sentimental poems in the manner of James Whitcomb Riley. Among the first group "When de Co'n Pone's Hot" and "When Malindy Sings" demonstrate how effectively he could express the genuine speech and emotions of the Negro, much of which he had learned from his ex-slave mother. Such statements of racial consciousness as "Ode to Ethiopia" and "We Wear the Mask" are proof that Dunbar saw deeply into the fact of prejudice and oppression. It is unfortunate that he did not turn to racial conflicts more frequently. A glance at his sentimental poems is enough to make the reader wish he had been less under the influence of Riley and more under the influence of Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington. On the other hand, we can be glad that after one attempt he gave up writing for the minstrel stage, refusing to add to the conception of the Negro as a comic character.

His prose works include articles, short stories, and four novels. Of the latter, *The Sport of the Gods* is considered the best. Miss Cunningham concentrated on his poetry, as she should have, but some readers may wish a fuller treatment of his prose. For those there are bibliographical listings. His fiction covers a broad range of material, but his essays deal almost entirely with phases of the Negro problem.

Miss Cunningham makes a creditable introduction of Paul Laurence Dunbar to people who have not known him before. More serious students of literature, however, as well as sociologists interested in racial strife, will want a deeper, more critical appraisal of the man, his works, and the forces that aided and retarded his growth. Her book does not meet the need for a scholarly treatment of the life and works of Paul Laurence Dunbar.

Columbia University.

WILLIAM A. OWENS.

LONGFELLOW AND SCANDINAVIA: *A Study of the Poet's Relationship with the Northern Languages and Literature* (Yale Studies in English, No. 107). By Andrew Hilén. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1947. ix, 190 pp. \$3.00.

Ever since the German scholar Hermann Varnhagen published his investigation on the sources of the *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (Berlin, 1884), there have been sporadic attempts to describe certain phases of Longfellow's interest in Scandinavia. But not until now has a study of the subject as a whole been made.

Dr. Hilén has made the first comprehensive research in this field, and his publication will undoubtedly, for a long time at least, remain the definitive authority on the poet's relations to the Scandinavian North. In its preparation all pertinent papers and manuscripts in the Longfellow House in Cambridge have been carefully examined, and some material is now published for the first time. All statements are scrupulously documented. We find in Mr. Hilén's thorough and objective work not only a description of the background necessary for Longfellow's interest in Scandinavia, an account of his travels in Denmark and Sweden, and a survey of his relationships with the Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic literatures, but, also, in well-edited appendices, the first complete transcription of the poet's Scandinavian Journal, copies of letters written by, and to, Longfellow in Scandinavia, and a special section which is extremely important and perhaps the most tangibly contributive part of the book, namely, a bibliography of Longfellow's Scandinavian library. This, incidentally, contained "380-odd" volumes, including some rarities, although the "evidence of unopened pages" seems to prove that the owner had read only a fraction of them.

The general impression received from the author's study—unquestionably the correct one—is that Longfellow's interest in Scandinavia was genuine and moderately influential but circumscribed and superficial. Yet it was sufficient to establish his reputation as *the* authority on Scandinavian literature in New England, or America for that matter. His position at Harvard and popularity as a poet made the Scandinavian interests of others—even of those who like Henry Wheaton, George Perkins Marsh, and James Gates Percival were more profound than Longfellow—pale in comparison.

Longfellow's visit to Scandinavia in 1835 was a disappointment, so far as Sweden was concerned, and now we know some of the reasons why: the weather was bad; his wife was not well; he was interested mainly in Sweden's romantic past and not in its unromantic contemporary struggles, with the result that the realities observed burst his

idealistic bubbles; and, most consequential of all, a large number of the Swedish intellectuals and literati, whom he had hoped to meet in Stockholm or Uppsala, were during the summer absent on vacations. Longfellow had even neglected to notify his Swedish friend, the poet Karl August Nicander, whom he had met in Rome in 1828, of his intended visit. So he was absent too. And the American was shocked to see Swedish clergymen drinking wine and smoking cigars. But he met a few courteous souls and obtained a fair command of the Swedish language, which, by the way, he found more beautiful than the Danish. In Copenhagen he studied Danish and Icelandic and attended the theater. He liked the Danish capital.

After his return to America Longfellow forgot or disregarded his disillusioning experiences in the North and proceeded to romanticize it, first in his essay on *Frithiofs Saga* (1837) and later in his creative poetry. The topographical similarity, also, between Sweden and his own country was exploited to advantage in *Evangeline*. Several translations from the Scandinavian were made. "His relationship with Scandinavia," says Hilén, "had a definite, important, and measurable effect on his thinking," and "did much to bring Scandinavia into American consciousness." For details we must refer to Hilén's work.

Longfellow was the first *notable* poet to take an interest in Scandinavian antiquity, an interest which was certainly, at least in part, inspired by the English writers Gray and Scott; but in this connection we cannot help recalling that in 1793, in the first "general" anthology of American poetry (published in Litchfield, Connecticut, and edited by Elihu Hubbard Smith), there were three Scandinavian items from ancient or legendary Scandinavia, including a free, annotated translation of the "Voluspá" in the *Poetic Edda* by Richard Alsop, one of the "Hartford Wits" of Middletown in the same state. Could Longfellow have known anything about these items? They were not masterpieces, far from it; still they might have provided an idea. And—another query—might not Longfellow have received the "idea of a poem involving the conflict of paganism and Christianity in the North," in Rome, from Nicander, whose *Runesvärdet* (1820) had dealt with that particular theme, although apparently the American poet did not own a copy of it?

Longfellow and Scandinavia is very well written, it has a good index, and the spelling of the Scandinavian words and names is correct. But the reviewer is wondering about the spelling of the name of the author who wrote the article "Is Longfellow's 'Evangeline' a Product of Swedish Influence?" (*Poet Lore*, 1908). The name given is *Thostenberg* (pp. 35 ff.). Should it not be *Thorstenberg*, despite the inexplicable orthog-

raphy of the name at the head of the article? Edward Thorstenberg was a native Swede, a Ph.D. from Yale, who had taught Swedish there and at the time the article appeared was teaching German in the same institution. A Yale obituary record cites Thorstenberg as a contributor to *Poet Lore*.

Mr. Hilén should next tackle the problem of the exact relation, if any, of *Hiauwatha* to the Finnish epic *Kalevala*.

Yale University.

ADOLPH B. BENSON.

SELECTED LETTERS OF WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, 1899-1943. Edited, with an Introduction, by Walter Johnson. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1947. viii, 460 pp. \$3.75.

William Allen White sold his goods not in one Emporia only but in many. By and large, they were goods in the original sense. He did, it is true, "push" some meretricious political candidates after trying within the party to get them discarded. He did, also, sell some writings that had the sentimentality but not the humor and savor that he attributed to his Irish ancestry.

Otherwise his wares were sound. They included such tangibles as a variety of literary productions—editorials which were the envy of many a metropolitan writer; short stories; novels, on some of which he worked so meticulously that they were, however popular, rather old-fashioned when they saw print; a biography of Coolidge that may endure; an autobiography whose chief defect is that it ends with 1923; and thousands of letters, which judging from the samples before us were nearly all written with verve but without the final spark that will make them live.

His wares also included such intangibles as faith, hope, charity, democracy—all of which he comprehended more sagely than his detractors admit.

The main ware he sold was of course that fascinating mixture of tangibles and intangibles, consistencies and contradictions—Bill White himself. His sales methods when he was a young man at the turn of the century were sometimes brash, though almost always better than the advertising taste of that era. As he grew, success came because he merited it. Men and women of diverse outlooks respected and loved him. He touched life on the Clarence Budington Kelland side—the benevolent small-city political boss whose disclaimers of his manipulations and denial of his influence fooled few. At the other extreme he helped to mold and raise the reading level of the American middle classes. He counseled statesmen and did not, like some fellow-reformers, sulk when arrows missed the moon or even the target.

Professor Johnson has done a fine job of selecting from letters covering four and a half decades some four hundred which show nearly all facets of the man's character. He has not only selected perspicaciously; he has arranged illuminatingly. His Introduction, headnotes, link notes, and bracketed interpolations are obviously aimed at the general reader, and therefore sometimes strike the specialist as a little dogmatic; but on the whole nobody has cause to complain. White the cocky and callow young chap who was the unwitting tool of standpatters in the days when the Populist "radicals" were themselves more callow than it is now fashionable to say, White the shrewd businessman, White the disciple but not the slave of Teddy Roosevelt, White the university trustee protesting against worship of mere bigness, White the practical politician encompassing in his view the county courthouse and (eventually) a world organization, White the battler against Klan supremacy—all these are here, as well as White in the roles he usually had wit enough to keep sweet, the roles of husband, father, and neighbor. We are indebted to Professor Johnson for bringing vividly to us, as on a larger stage he does again in his recent biography of White, an epitome of one of the best representatives of a common American type.

University of Illinois.

LISLE A. ROSE.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: *American Humanist*. By Karl Lehmann. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1947. xiii, 273 pp. \$4.50.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: *Champion of Religious Freedom, Advocate of Christian Morals*. By Henry W. Foote. Boston: The Beacon Press. 1947. ix, 70 pp. \$1.25.

Each of these studies of Thomas Jefferson's thought is the tribute of a warm admirer to an intellectual who took all fields of knowledge for his province. Here the similarity ends. Dr. Lehmann's attempt to "exhibit the breadth and depth of Jefferson's Humanistic thought" is an important contribution to the literature of Jefferson, a mature and provocative book. Dr. Foote's examination of Jefferson's religious beliefs is a less ambitious work which fails to add much to the superficial—and frequently misleading or misinformed—material already written on this subject.

Dr. Lehmann's study of Jefferson's lifelong preoccupation with ancient civilization leads him to conclude that Jefferson is "one of the greatest Humanists of all time." Throughout his long life Jefferson read the classics wisely and widely; it is hardly an exaggeration to say they were his constant companions. The monuments of antiquity—

its literature, philosophy, history, government, religion, manners, mores, art, and architecture—were to Jefferson no mere means of escape from reality; rather they shaped and controlled his attitude towards life and living. Dr. Lehmann wisely insists upon recognizing the fundamental skepticism of Jefferson's nature. Jefferson's uncompromisingly realistic observation of life caused him to reject theory and accept fact, to discard Plato and embrace Epicurus. His familiarity with classical literature strengthened the convictions which experience had created. Yet Jefferson never lost faith in the "curious animal" which was man. A thorough knowledge of the past, he insisted, was essential to an understanding of this curious animal and made less hazardous his halting journey from cradle to the grave. Humanistic studies, then, were of primary importance in implementing what Jefferson considered the sacred obligation of governments and their leaders: "to set men free, that was the ultimate goal." But Jefferson's attitude towards the humanities, Dr. Lehmann rightly contends, was not merely utilitarian, as some scholars have stated or implied. He did not regard them important only as means to an end. Rather, Dr. Lehmann shows (although he is inclined to overemphasize his conclusions) that to Jefferson the humanities were also important in themselves, and *good* in themselves, "a positive contribution to the unfolding of personality by the experience of beauty."

It is surprising and unfortunate that so good a book should contain so many trivial weaknesses. Dr. Lehmann tends to think in terms of superlatives; he tells us that Jefferson did an "incredible" amount of reading, that he purchased in France a "prodigious" number of books, that he engaged in an "incredible" amount of research. Then, too, he is inclined to make sweeping and/or debatable generalizations. He states categorically that Jefferson, apart from some professional classicists, was more widely read in ancient literature than any other man of his time. The wisdom of thinking and writing like this is dubious, to say the least; specifically, such a statement is certainly debatable, probably incorrect, and definitely misleading. Further, one might wish that the author had pursued further certain lines of his investigation. For example, in discussing Jefferson's literary tastes and reading habits, Dr. Lehmann makes a careful study of Jefferson's private library, basing many of his conclusions on Jefferson's library catalogue of 1815. The author, however, virtually ignores the larger, and in some ways more representative, book lists which Jefferson compiled for the University of Virginia. I doubt that a study of this later library would alter considerably any of Dr. Lehmann's major conclusions; a more thorough contrast and comparison of the two, however, might have led to some interesting speculations. Finally, Dr. Lehmann's otherwise valuable notes and bib-

liographical references have been carelessly proofread: Charles Brockden Brown is referred to as Charles E. Brown, Edward Rutledge as Edward Ruthledge, Marion Tinling as Marin Tinling, Bernard Mayo as Bernard Megs, and so forth. Such flaws, though, are the more conspicuous because of the real merit of Dr. Lehmann's book, which is indispensable to anyone interested in Jefferson's intellectual development.

Dr. Foote's inquiry into Jefferson's religion is a series of loosely connected essays tracing the familiar pattern of Jefferson's early Deism, his renunciation of Anglican dogma, his fight for religious freedom, his admiration for Christ and His teachings, and his sympathy towards Unitarianism with its emphasis on freedom of the human mind and spirit, its toleration of diversities of belief, and its advocacy of reason as a God-given instrument for the attainment of truth. The author has also contributed a good chapter on the so-called Jefferson Bible, that "wee little book" of the life and teachings of Christ which Jefferson compiled during his Presidency and in retirement. The remaining chapters are more superficial than profound, more obvious than original. And it is unwise to accept as fact, with Dr. Foote, Jefferson's rhetorical "deathbed utterance" ("I now resign my soul, without tear, to my God: my daughter to my country") or to believe in his authorship of the "farewell" verses to his daughter. The deathbed utterance story is almost certainly apocryphal; Jefferson's authorship of the farewell verses is based on the flimsy evidence afforded by statements of his great-granddaughter made almost half a century after his death.

University of Missouri.

WILLIAM PEDEN.

WRITING IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS. By Ray B. West, Jr. With a Bibliography by Nellie Cliff. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1947. 96 pp. \$1.50.

On the first page of *Writing in the Rocky Mountains*, Ray B. West, Jr., makes the point that the Rocky Mountain region was the last-born of the nation and that its tremendous area was virtually unknown prior to 1825. Even today its culture is youthful in comparison with that of the South or the East. All the novels to which Mr. West gives much of his space appeared after 1939, and most of the verse which he considers significant is the product of the last decade. For over a century the white man's occupation of the Rocky Mountain region produced nothing of importance in the field of imaginative fiction or poetry. Mr. West's book consists of four essays. The first is a survey of the region and its problems and an enumeration of the themes which occasionally attracted the creative writer. It is no accident, Mr. West contends, that the first

sizable group of Rocky Mountain authors sprang from the Mormon settlements because the Mormon colonization project at least involved a permanent and homogeneous group united by a common creed and sharing a common culture. Outsiders like Susan Ertz seized the Mormon story before the Mormons themselves became conscious of its artistic possibilities, but in recent years Mormon writers have successfully exploited their past.

Besides the Mormon theme such subjects as the mining camps of the mountain West, the cattle industry, farm and small community life have attracted writers, but with less conspicuous success. Mr. West remarks quite correctly that the Western chronicle in general has been seen as an epic in prose, so that interpretations of the trans-Missouri country have assumed the form of the novel rather than that of verse narrative. He fails to mention, incidentally, John G. Neihardt's ambitious attempt to adapt the Homeric epic to the duel between white man and red.

In his second essay Mr. West discusses in some detail the four most important novels that Rocky Mountain writers have yet produced: Vardis Fisher's *Children of God*, Maurine Whipple's *The Giant Joshua*, Walter Van Tilburg Clark's *The Ox-Bow Incident*, and Wallace Stegner's *The Big Rock Candy Mountain*. The third essay is given over to an analysis of three regional poets: Thomas Hornsby Ferril, Ted Olson, and Brewster Ghiselin, whose growing superiority he attempts to demonstrate by copious quotation. Finally he discusses the opulence as well as the dangers of the Mormon theme for serious writers of historical fiction.

Despite Mr. West's natural enthusiasm for his subject, one cannot feel that the Rocky Mountain region has so far produced any very significant literature. Nor can one admit that the writing in this area of the last ten years suggests any vital cultural flowering. Thomas Hornsby Ferril himself remarked recently that around Denver, at least, the tremendous natural phenomena dwarf the creative artist. The mountaineer tends to be a passive worshiper of physical magnificence rather than a poet or a philosopher. Certainly many Rocky Mountain subjects remain untouched. Novelist, poet, dramatist, painter, sculptor need have small fear that themes are wanting; the primary requirement is the discovery of genius and skill commensurate with the topics crying for treatment. The Rocky Mountain region will always provide a challenge to the artist, and Mr. West's book indicates how incomplete has been the artist's acceptance of that challenge.

One must reluctantly add that a slipshod style does not help Mr. West's case. He can write of the "principle figure" of a recent novel (p. 17), and he can allow such a sentence as the following to go unre-

vised: "But the chief facts which stand out in a survey of Rocky Mountain writing is the predominance of the novel and the comparatively small—though growing—amount of poetry" (p. 24). One puzzles over the meaning of such a remark as that on page 42: "Contemporary with the actual events, nothing seemed more meaningless to the outside observer than the activity of the frontier." And in more than one sentence the predicate looks around for a subject with which it can conveniently agree (see pp. 17, 27, 38). The bibliographer probably does not mean to say on page 78 that Wilson O. Clough "proscribed" a test for serious regional writing. A university press product ought at least to conform to conventional syntax.

University of Illinois.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN.

POSTSCRIPT TO YESTERDAY. *America: The Last Fifty Years.* By Lloyd Morris. New York: Random House. 1947. 449 pp. \$5.00.

In this book, the first of an ambitious two-volume survey of American civilization since 1896, Mr. Lloyd Morris has set himself the task of exploring the principal social changes that have taken place. He begins with the optimistic turn of the century with its uncritical faith in progress and concludes with 1946, when he says, "Confidence and faith evaporated." For so meticulous a task, he has relied only upon the biographic approach, organized into certain aspects of the social scene, interspersed with interpretive comments. The result is a rather panoramic view, "nostalgic," as his publishers suggest, rather than an integrated presentation involving a fresh exploration of unsolved problems. Readers of Merle Curti, Oscar Cargill, Alfred Kazin, Charles Beard, and many others should have more than a nodding acquaintance with this socioeconomic synthesis with its familiar story of the technological and ideological revolution since the days of the early pragmatists, the muckrakers, and the bicycle built for two.

The best aspect of *Postscript to Yesterday* is its accurate, pithy characterizations of the great and near-great. Those who have known Emma Goldman will enjoy this picture of the "proletarian Aspasia" and others will recognize the apt delineation of the "psychically virginal" Isadora Duncan. In the story of woman emancipated from a position of futility, there is the amusingly ironic tale of the society matron Mrs. Bradley Martin, who gave her mite to solve the depression of 1893-1897 by throwing a quarter-million-dollar party at the new Waldorf Hotel, only to have this thoughtful gesture to relieve unemployment meet with common disapproval and protest. In the discussion of the press, many will meet for the first time the portrait of the late Captain Joe Patterson of

the New York *Daily News* as a former socialist and enemy of the "capitalist press." To the familiar story of Mary Baker Eddy's Christian Science and "Sister Aimee's" Four Square Gospel, there is added a fresh discussion of New Thought and Miss Evangeline Adams, the Bostonian seeress—all included within a chapter on "The Mysticism of the Middle Class." The picture of Henry Adams could have been pointed up more effectively by a thorough use of Cater's new collection of Adams's letters (although this is cited in the bibliography). Particularly valuable is the careful presentation of William Graham Sumner, both as an influential economist and sociologist and as a personality. There is a good critical chapter on the theater in "Across the Footlights" with a keen, unflattering view of George S. Kaufman. The section on literature, "Seven Pillars of Wisdom," though competent, will have little that is new either in fact or interpretation for readers of *American Literature*.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Morris will use his undeniable talents in his next book to deal with fresh problems with a more effective technique than shown in this one. Otherwise he will undoubtedly come to as lame a conclusion as he did in the first volume. Discussing the pessimism of the postatomic era, he closes:

But the mood was itself a challenge, and the challenge could be met again, as in the past. For one thing every American knew in his heart, though a philosopher had recorded it with wonder. "To be an American," George Santayana had told people across the Atlantic, "is of itself almost a moral condition, an education, and a career."

Finally, the reviewer would like to see the next volume give some attention to the neglected role of Europe in the shaping of American social and intellectual life.

Western Reserve University.

HARVEY WISH.

MONROE'S DEFENSE OF JEFFERSON AND FRENEAU AGAINST HAMILTON.

Edited by Philip M. Marsh. Oxford, Ohio [Privately Printed]. 1948.
56 pp. \$1.50.

For twelve years Dr. Marsh has been presenting evidence that Alexander Hamilton's charges against Thomas Jefferson during the heat of party warfare in the early 1790's were not all completely true. Specifically, he has leveled much of his barrage of fact-recording articles and notes against Hamilton's allegation that Jefferson was somehow concerned with the establishment and management of Philip Freneau's the *National Gazette*. He has marshaled a large and impressive array of materials in the form of letters to or from or concerning one or another of the participants in the quarrel, together with relevant newspaper articles, to many of which he has skilfully proved hitherto unrecognized authorship.

The most pertinent of these materials have been gathered into the present brochure to support Dr. Marsh's contention (p. 16) that "Thomas Jefferson was not guilty, and Hamilton was wrong."

In pronouncing judgment in a case of this kind one is of necessity handicapped by several considerations. In the first place, contemporary evidence, in accusation or defense either of Jefferson or Hamilton, was written in the heat of a protracted political battle, perhaps as intense as any which has disturbed our national affairs. Tempers were often set flaring, and hot, quick words exchanged. In the second place, both parties to the quarrel were politically ambitious. Both were astute and practiced politicians. Both had friends ready and willing, for personal or political considerations, to speak out for them, openly if necessary, behind an ably devised pseudonym if anonymity seemed most expedient. Lines were rigidly drawn as sharp and experienced eyes looked to the immediate future when votes would be counted and, not at all incidentally, policies established. No one, so far as can presently be determined, spoke for Hamilton who was not a Hamiltonian. No one spoke for Jefferson who was not, for one reason or another, anxious for change in government. Thus, almost any fact of record—in newspaper exchange or even in rapidly composed correspondence concerned with the exigencies of campaigning—can only establish what its writer, for his own or party purposes, wished to establish. And the historian concerned with this particular set of "facts" becomes involved in a series of real or apparent contradictions which can be resolved only by his personal or professional judgment of the character (or the motives) of the men involved. If Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Freneau, and their partisans were incapable of what in best kindness we may call "successful political strategy," then Dr. Marsh is exactly right. If, on the other hand, Hamilton was—for all that may be adduced in other respects against him—a keen analyst of the motives and actions of his opponents, then Dr. Marsh may very well be wrong.

Even middle-of-the-way scholars will continue to find it difficult to reconcile Jefferson's interest in Freneau's establishment of a newspaper in 1791 with his categorical denial, only a few years later, that he had anything to do with it. The countercharge that, if Jefferson was guilty, Hamilton was greatly more so in his patronage of Fenno's *Gazette of the United States* seems begging the question, which, in turn, seems ultimately to resolve itself into an exercise in semantics, a quibble: just what exactly did Jefferson or any of the rest of them mean by the words they used, or—better—what did they mean for contemporaries (or even students like Dr. Marsh) to think that they meant? In most mature analysis, however, such speculation misses the principal point: that, the

charges true or false, Jefferson was believed by many of his contemporaries and by many later-day students to have had (or not to have had) connection with the *National Gazette*; and that this, which is the historical fact, has colored both Jefferson's reputation and the disposition of many students who have discussed it. Perhaps with time and the collection of even further evidence, the quarrel can be settled. Meanwhile, we must be grateful to Dr. Marsh for having assembled so much new and pertinent evidence for the defense, though we must also be excused if we continue to exercise our own judicial prerogative of suspended judgment.

Duke University.

LEWIS LEARY.

BRIEF MENTION

THE JOURNALS OF FRANCIS PARKMAN. Edited by Mason Wade. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. 1947. 2 vols. xxv, 718 pp. \$10.00.

Though used by his earliest biographers, Parkman's journals for a long time were believed to have been destroyed, but Mr. Wade at long last routed them out from an attic, deposited them with the Massachusetts Historical Society, and now presents them in print. Most finished in style are the earliest, dealing with Parkman's trips in 1841, 1842, and 1843 to the woods of Maine, New York, and Canada. They are entertaining reading to anyone who is fond of fishing, canoeing, and hunting, and they sometimes contain graphic accounts of the yokels living in the backwoods. In their style of writing they indicate that their author had already developed a facile pen before he finished college. The other journals in the first volume cover Parkman's European trip in 1843-1844, supply notes jotted in Boston or in the Berkshires in 1844, or consist of memoranda for the study of Pontiac and his times. The second volume includes the journal of the trip over part of the Oregon trail to Wyoming in 1846, the longest and most important of all. This is undeniably interesting in many particulars, but the present reviewer fails to agree with Mr. Wade that these notes, often in rough, staccato style, are superior to *The Oregon Trail*. The remaining contents of the volume are notebooks concerned principally with details for Parkman's later historical works. They are brief, relatively unimportant, and for the most part tedious. As he grew older, the historian had little time for recording his experiences *in extenso*.

For the Parkman specialist these two volumes are of major importance; for most of us they hold only occasional moments of general interest, principally in their accounts of travel and observations on people. Mr. Wade has supplied for each journal a clarifying introduction and explanatory footnotes. His emendations of the text have been placed in brackets. The validity of the ancillary material is established by the fact that the editor is also the foremost authority on the biography of Parkman.

Duke University.

CLARENCE GOHDES.

WALDEN AND SELECTED ESSAYS. By Henry D. Thoreau. Introduction by George F. Whicher. Chicago: Packard and Company. 1947. xxii, 483 pp. \$1.25.

There are no surprises for the reader of Thoreau in this latest addition to the University Classics, but the standard fare is still good. The essays selected to supplement *Walden* are "A Winter Walk," "Walking," "Wild Apples," "Civil Disobedience," "Life without Principle," and "A Plea for Captain John Brown." The Preface by the editor is routine but sensible. Two things give it some distinction. One is the way Professor Whicher places *Walden* in a scheme. He sees it as stemming from the twin American traditions of the outdoor book (for example, William Bartram's *Travels*) and the book that pictures its author's quiet independence of mind (for example, John Woolman's *Journal*). The other lies in Professor Whicher's interesting remarks about Thoreau's style. Too little of this kind of pleasantly discriminating comment has appeared in print so far.

For the student the editor has compiled a selective and critical bibliography. It runs from the beginnings to 1945 and is the most comprehensive list to be found in any of the recent Thoreau anthologies. It has been poorly proofread, but this should not interfere with the usefulness of the volume.

University of Maryland.

CARL BODE.

THE BEST ONE-ACT PLAYS OF 1946-1947. Edited by Margaret Mayorga. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. 1947. ix, 275 pp. \$3.00.

OFF BROADWAY: *Essays about the Theater*. By Maxwell Anderson. New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc. 1947. 91 pp. \$2.50.

If one may judge from *The Best One-Act Plays of 1946-1947*, the type of drama here represented has still a long way to go before it reaches a level commensurate with its possibilities. Of the ten plays published in this book not above two at the most—*Freight*, by Kenneth White, and *Bride-Ship*, by Jack Jacobs—seem to me to be of the quality one would hope to find in a volume of the year's best. In general, immaturity and extravagance, even at times falseness, characterize the entries. It must be admitted that America has never been particularly rich in good one-act plays, and the end of vaudeville and of such groups as the old Washington Square Players and the Provincetown Players curtailed the market for short dramas. One would like to think that the little theaters scattered throughout the country had exerted a potent influence for good, but the evidence is not convincing. Of course radio provides the writer of one-act plays with a tremendous opportunity to-

day, and television will no doubt soon do so, but the two radio plays and the one for television that Miss Mayorga includes offer scant cause for optimism.

The obvious conclusion presumably is that one-act drama is suffering from that attack of the doldrums of which drama in general has been a victim for some years and which makes pessimism about the future of the theater an easy attitude. As an antidote to such a state of mind Maxwell Anderson's little book comes most seasonably. Mr. Anderson is probably our most confirmed believer in the profound and enduring importance of drama. To him the theater is not merely a purveyor of entertainment however excellent; it is rather "a religious institution devoted entirely to the exaltation of the spirit of man." While admitting that the last few seasons on Broadway have been anemic, he declares that the "theater is the phoenix of the arts," and because of its vital spiritual office it will be renewed again and again. Mr. Anderson's idealistic beliefs are by this time familiar to most students of the drama, for of the ten essays that make up this book all but one have appeared elsewhere, but it is good to have them collected in one heartening volume.

New Jersey College for Women.

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

THE BEST PLAYS OF 1946-47. Edited by Burns Mantle. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1947. x, 555 pp. \$4.00.

The fact that this is the thirtieth volume in the series is some indication of its success in the field. Though the skilful précis work does serve for purposes of quick information, one is constantly reminded of the limitations of this form. But the numerous lists and tabulations supply a great deal of theatrical data which cannot easily be found elsewhere. On the whole the selection in the present volume is good.

Bucknell University.

ALLAN G. HALLINE.

THEATRE WORLD. *Season 1946-47.* Edited by Daniel Blum. New York: The Stuyvesant Press Corp. 1947. 224 pp. \$1.50.

This is the third volume of a pictorial account of the Broadway season. If you want some photographs, casts of characters, and paragraph biographies, here they are.

Bucknell University.

ALLAN G. HALLINE.

READINGS FROM THE AMERICAS: *An Introduction to Democratic Thought.* Selected and Edited by Guy A. Cardwell. New York: The Ronald Press Company. 1947. xxxix, 982 pp. \$4.00.

This big, varied, and well-edited book should be useful in several types of courses: introductory courses in composition and literature, ele-

mentary courses in American civilization, courses for indoctrination in democratic thought. It includes essays by and about American writers, biography and autobiography, letters, addresses, short stories, ballads, poems, and public documents. Adequate critical and biographical apparatus is provided, and some of the selections are accompanied by study questions. One useful and original feature is a "Selected List of Phonograph Records in the Field of American Civilization." The introduction offers suggestions for a "unified approach."

Ohio State University.

WILLIAM CHARVAT.

HENRY JAMES: *Portraits of Places*. With an Essay on James as a Traveller by Alvin Finch. New York: Lear Publishers. [1948.] 350 pp. \$3.50.

Portraits of Places is here reprinted minus not only the American sketches which it contained but also "From Normandy to the Pyrenees," and "An English Winter Watering Place." Mr. Finch's introductory essay is pleasant, and shallow. There might be a reason for reproducing *Portraits of Places* in its entirety, for copies are hard to obtain, but such a truncated text as this one cannot be justified on any ground.

C. G.

THE AMERICAN COLLEGE DICTIONARY. Edited by Clarence L. Barnhart with the Assistance of 355 Authorities and Specialists. Text Edition. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. [1948.] 1432 pp. \$5.00. (\$6.00 with thumb index.)

Phonetics and other aspects of dictionary-making have been simplified, and the needs of the "general user" have been kept in mind, with the happy result that this book is indeed what its title indicates. Among the editorial advisors were Leonard Bloomfield, Charles C. Fries, Cabell Greet, and Kemp Malone.

C. G.

WE CALLED IT CULTURE: *The Story of Chautauqua*. By Victoria and Robert Ormond Chase. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1948. 272 pp. \$3.00.

An informal history of the Chautauqua movement, told from the "inside." No index.

THE CREATIVE CRITIC. By Carl H. Grabo. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1948. 136 pp. \$3.00.

A discussion of the role of the criticism guiding both the literary artist and the reading public.

THE GREAT TRADITION: *The Democratic Idea*. By Jerome G. Kerwin. New York: The Dechan X. McMullen Company, Inc. 1948. 91 pp. \$1.00.

A Holy Cross College Press publication of the annual Fenwick Lecture, which discusses the development from antiquity of the democratic idea, the assault on the democratic dogma, and the practice of democracy today.

THE THOUGHT AND CHARACTER OF WILLIAM JAMES. By Ralph Barton Perry. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. 401 pp. \$6.00.
A briefer version of Mr. Perry's 1935 Pulitzer Prize biography.

A COLLECTION OF TRAVEL IN AMERICA BY VARIOUS HANDS. Edited by George Bradshaw. New York: Farrar, Straus and Company. 1948. vi, 372 pp. \$4.00.

An anthology which includes essays by Anthony Trollope, R. L. Stevenson, J. B. Priestley, D. H. Lawrence, Henry Thoreau, Herman Melville, Henry James, Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, E. B. White, and others.

WELLSPRINGS OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT. *A Series of Addresses*. Edited by F. Ernest Johnson. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1948. ix, 240 pp. \$2.50.

Sixteen lectures delivered at the Institute for Religious and Social Studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, including "The Puritan Tradition," by Herbert W. Schneider (pp. 1-14) and "The Spirit of American Literature," by Odell Shepard (pp. 135-144).

LEWIS LEARY.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Richard E. Amacher (Rutgers University), Ashbel Brice (Duke University), Herbert Brown (Bowdoin College), Horst Frenz (Indiana University), James R. Dolson (Alabama Polytechnic Institute), John C. Gerber (University of Iowa), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queen's College), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest Marchand (San Diego State College), Thomas F. Marshall (Western Maryland College), Roy Harvey Pearce (University of California), Henry F. Pommer (Cornell University), Thelma V. Smith (Temple University), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), and Frederick Tolles (Swarthmore College).

Items for the check list to be published in the November, 1948, issue of *American Literature* should be sent to the chairman of the committee, Lewis Leary, Box 4633 Duke Station, Durham, N. C.

I. 1609-1800

- [ADAMS, JOHN] Butterfield, Lyman H. "The Jefferson-Adams Correspondence in the Adams Manuscript Trust." *Lib. Cong. Quar. Jour.*, V, 3-6 (Feb., 1948).

See JEFFERSON below.

- Haraszti, Zóltan. "John Adams and Rousseau." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXXI, 95-100 (Feb., 1948).

Unpublished marginalia by Adams found in his copy of Rousseau's works.

- [BECKLEY, JOHN] Marsh, Philip M. "John Beckley, Mystery Man of the Early Jeffersonians." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXXII, 54-69 (Jan., 1948).

Beckley, the first Librarian of Congress and "the undercover political strategist of his time," may have been the "Valerius" who attacked Hamilton; as "Americanus" he wrote a pamphlet defending Jefferson; and he also wrote political letters for the Philadelphia *Aurora*.

- [EDWARDS, JONATHAN] Miller, Perry. "Jonathan Edwards' Sociology of the Great Awakening." *NEQ*, XXI, 50-77 (March, 1948).

Three unpublished sermons by Edwards reveal that he did not grow up in a social vacuum, but that he was anthropologically a product of the peculiar culture of the Connecticut Valley in the

eighteenth century: the sermons indicate a sense of a pattern of human relations and a system of ideas about the commonwealth.

Townsend, H. G. "The Will and Understanding in the Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards." *Church Hist.*, XVI, 210-220 (Dec., 1947).

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Chinard, Gilbert. "Conseils de Franklin pour l'utilisation du Maïs." *French-Am. Rev.*, I, 17-20 (Jan.-March, 1948).

A letter from Cadet de Vaux, first published in the *Journal de Paris*, February 17, 1786, quoted Franklin at length.

Kirkland, Frederic R. "Three Franklin Letters." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXXII, 70-76 (Jan., 1948).

Letters from Robert Livingston to Franklin (Oct. 20, 1781), from Lafayette to Franklin (Sept. 12, 1782), and from Franklin to Lafayette (Sept. 13, 1782) from "an unusually valuable collection of Frankliniana purchased from the Bache family indirectly by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania."

[JEFFERSON, THOMAS] Blanck, Jacob. "Antiquarian Book Notes." *Antiq. Bookman*, I, 299-300 (Feb. 21, 1948).

A letter from Jefferson (May 3, 1819) to a bookseller, which forms a "neat addition to the history of bookseller-collector relationship."

Butterfield, Lyman H. "The Jefferson-Adams Correspondence in the Adams Manuscript Trust." *Lib. Cong. Quar. Jour.*, V, 3-6 (Feb., 1948).

A description of papers which the Adams Manuscript Trust of Boston has made available for The Papers of Thomas Jefferson now being prepared for publication at Princeton University and deposited at the Library of Congress.

Dumbauld, Edward. "Les Demeures Parisiennes de Thomas Jefferson." *French-Am. Rev.*, I, 68-75 (Jan.-March, 1948).

Translated into French from *Thomas Jefferson, American Tourist* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1946).

[RUSH, BENJAMIN] Butterfield, Lyman H. "Benjamin Rush as a Promoter of Useful Knowledge." *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, XCII, 26-36 (March 8, 1948).

———. "Love and Valor; or, Benjamin Rush and the Leslies of Edinburgh." *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chron.*, IX, 1-12 (Nov., 1947).

Dr. Rush's love affair with Lady Jane Leslie of Edinburgh, her brother's death in the Battle of Princeton, and his burial by Rush in Pluckemin, New Jersey.

[SMITH, JOHN] Southall, James P. C. "Captain John Smith (1580-1631) and Pocahontas (1595?-1617)." *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XXVIII, 209-225 (April, 1947).

Discusses evidence already known and in print, and does "not pretend to add anything new."

- [MISCELLANEOUS] Childs, Frances S. "French Opinion of Anglo-American Relations, 1795-1805." *French-Am. Rev.*, I, 21-35 (Jan.-March, 1948).

A study of French opinion as mirrored in the newspaper press. Eisinger, Chester E. "The Puritans' Justification for Taking the Land." *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, LXXXIV, 131-143 (April, 1948).

The Puritans justified their right to occupy land already in the possession of the Indians by suggesting that the aborigines' land was *vacuum domicilium*, and that God ordained man to occupy the earth, to increase, and multiply.

- Fairies, Elizabeth. "The Miami Country, 1750-1815, as Described in Journals and Letters." *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quar.*, LVII, 48-65 (Jan., 1948).

- Fucilla, J. G. "The First Fragment of a Translation of the *Divine Comedy* Printed in America: A New Find." *Italica*, XXV, 9-11 (March, 1948).

A "slightly inaccurate" quotation from *Paradiso*, XXIV, 101-102, appeared in John Clapp's *New York Almanack for 1699*, with a note by Clapp.

- Kreider, H. J. "The English Language Schism in the Lutheran Church in New York City, 1794-1810." *Lutheran Church Quar.*, XXI, 50-60 (Jan., 1948).

The struggle for predominance of English over German.

- Mood, Fulmer. "The Continental Congress and the Plan for a Library of Congress in 1782-83: An Episode in American Cultural History." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXXII, 3-24 (Jan., 1948).

The "findings . . . indicate the spiritual kinship of the founders of the American republic with the forces and ideals of the Enlightenment."

- Spurlin, Paul M. "Rousseau in America, 1760-1809." *French-Am. Rev.*, I, 8-16 (Jan.-March, 1948).

"Americans had fair acquaintance with Rousseau's works but the writings of Voltaire and Montesquieu were more widely disseminated. American opinion, in the aggregate, was hostile to Rousseau. He was respected less than Voltaire. He had many detractors, chief perhaps of whom was John Adams. . . . Americans made some slight use of Rousseau but not significantly so. The newspapers did not pay him compliments, as they did Montesquieu and Voltaire, by printing copious extracts from his writings." In public discussion the "Rousseau curve of citations really starts a decade after the Declaration. And as

regards his impact on American education in the eighteenth century it is negligible if not nil."

II. 1800-1870

- [ALLSTON, WASHINGTON] Soby, James Thrall. "Washington Allston, Eclectic," *SRL*, XXX, 28-29 (Aug. 23, 1947).

Allston as an artist.

- [CARUTHERS, W. A.] Davis, Curtis Carroll. "An Early Historical Novelist Goes to the Library: William A. Caruthers and His Reading, 1823-29," *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LII, 4, 159-170 (April, 1948).

Caruthers's withdrawals from the Franklin Society library at Lexington, Virginia.

- [CHANNING, W. E.] Downs, Lenthil H. "Emerson and Dr. Channing," *NEQ*, XX, 516-534 (Dec., 1947).

The personal relationship between Emerson and Channing was one of reserve: their real meetings were of the mind, not of the body.

- [COOPER, J. F.] Ballinger, Richard H. "Origins of James Fenimore Cooper's *The Two Admirals*," *AL*, XX, 20-23 (March, 1948).

In Cooper's novel are found parallels to and echoes of the *Correspondence* of Collingwood, Southey's *Life of Nelson*, and Cooper's own *The History of the Navy*.

- [EMERSON, R. W.] Downs, Lenthil H. "Emerson and Dr. Channing," *NEQ*, XX, 516-534 (Dec., 1947).

See CHANNING above.

- McEuen, Kathryn Anderson. "Emerson's Rhymes," *AL*, XX, 31-42 (March, 1948).

Emerson, "working his way toward 'free' or cadenced verse," was not, as has been asserted, merely careless or incapable of standard rhyming; he was a pioneer whose principles are followed by such poets as MacLeish, Aiken, and Auden.

- Pettegrove, James. "Emerson und der Transzendentalismus in Neu England," *Die Litterarische Welt*, II, 183-190 (1946).

The connections of the idealistic thought-life of Kant and his followers with Emerson and New England idealism.

- [HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Cohen, B. Bernard. "'The Gray Champion,'" *Indiana Univ. Folio*, XIII, 11-12 (Feb., 1948).

"'The Gray Champion' . . . offers us a tireless message about the fundamental tenets of democracy."

- Davidson, Frank. "Thoreau's Contribution to Hawthorne's *Mosses*," *NEQ*, XX, 535-542 (Dec., 1947).

The stimulating talk of Thoreau may have been partly responsible for the new interests and the new manner revealed in Hawthorne's short stories in the early 1840's.

Fogle, Richard H. "The Problem of Allegory in Hawthorne's *Ethan Brand*." *Univ. Toronto Quar.*, XVII, 190-203 (Jan., 1948).

Allegory is good when it is used artistically and is free from mere artifice and nonliterary didacticism. "Ethan Brand" is "an impressive allegory, valuable in itself for its noble seriousness of theme, and for its careful and artistic arrangement of intricate detail about the magnetic pole of an abstract conception, nor is there lacking the "rich complexity of the actual."

Mills, Barriss. "Hawthorne and Puritanism." *NEQ*, XXI, 78-102 (March, 1948).

Hawthorne's philosophy was emotional, based upon the sympathies and antipathies of the heart, not the mind. Along with theology, he discarded the whole Puritan exegesis as too coldly intellectual. He escapes being labeled because he was an artist more than a philosopher.

Schubert, Leland. "Hawthorne and George W. Childs and the Death of W. D. Ticknor." *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, LXXXIV, 164-168 (April, 1948).

Childs's account of Hawthorne at the time of Ticknor's death has been ignored by biographers of Hawthorne.

Waggoner, Hyatt H. "Nathaniel Hawthorne: The Cemetery, the Prison, and the Rose." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 175-190 (Spring, 1948).

The author of one great novel (*The Scarlet Letter*) and many great tales, Hawthorne "is very much more alive today than he was in 1900." He "will continue to be a major voice at least as long as the disintegration of our society proceeds"; he will always mean much to those who take the tragic view of life and who believe in the existence of ineradicable evil.

[HEWITT, J. H.] Harwell, Richard B. "John Hill Hewitt Collection." *So. Atl. Bul.*, XIII, 305 (March, 1948).

A biographical summary, plus a description of Hewitt manuscripts at Emory University.

[HOLMES, O. W.] Kern, Alexander C. "Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes Today." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 191-199 (Spring, 1948).

Because his work lacks inner tension, emotional depth, and sustained thought, there will hardly be a successful revival of interest in Holmes: "His wit palls, his geniality is vapid; his social viewpoint is unacceptable, and his sentiment now seems thin."

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Eaton, Vincent L. "The Leonard Kebler Gift of Washington Irving First Editions." *Lib. Cong. Quar. Jour.*, V, 9-13 (Feb., 1948).

Description of a newly acquired collection.

Sheridan, P. H. D. "Sunnyside on the Hudson." *Buick Magazine*, IX, 12 (April, 1948).

A note on the restoration of Irving's home near Tarrytown.

[LEGGETT, WILLIAM] Glicksberg, C. I. "William Leggett, Neglected Figure of American Literary History." *Journ. Quar.*, XXV, 52-58 (March, 1948).

An account of Leggett's career as editor of the New York *Evening Post* and of his friendship with Bryant.

[LINCOLN, ABRAHAM] Blanck, Jacob. "Antiquarian Book Notes." *Antiq. Bookman*, I, 219-220 (Feb. 7, 1948).

An account of the three-page holograph autobiography of Lincoln, written in Dec., 1859, and presented recently to the Library of Congress.

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Strachan, Pearl. "Poets Have Something to Say." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XL, 5 (Feb. 14, 1948).

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Levin, Harry. "Don Quijote y Moby-Dick." *Realidad*, II, 254-267 (1947).

P., B. A. "Ageless and Edible." *AN&Q*, VII, 141 (Dec., 1947).

Reference to a note by James D. Hart in the Melville Society *Newsletter* (Aug. 7, 1947) apropos of Melville's likening himself to a seed taken out of an Egyptian pyramid: the novelist may have come on this idea through G. P. R. James, who was then living at Stockbridge.

[PAYNE, J. H.] Leary, Lewis. "John Howard Payne's Southern Adventure: 1835." *Duke Univ. Lib. Notes*, No. 19 (Feb., 1948), pp. 2-11.

The playwright shown both in conflict with the Georgia government and in love with a Georgia girl.

[POE, E. A.] Hunter, William B., Jr. "Poe's 'The Sleeper' and *Macbeth*." *AL*, XX, 55-57 (March, 1948).

Macbeth, Act III, scene v, lines 20-24, as a source of Poe's moon vapor.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Allen, Morse S., Earle, Osborne, and Egdel, David P. "Walden and How to Teach It." *C. E. A. News Letter*, IX, 1, 3-4 (Dec., 1947).

Reports of a panel discussion held at a meeting of the New England section of the College English Association at Northeastern University on Oct. 18, 1947.

Cook, Reginald L. "Thoreau in Perspective." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 117-125 (Winter, 1947).

A re-examination.

Davidson, Frank. "Thoreau's Contribution to Hawthorne's *Mosses*." *NEQ*, XX, 535-542 (Dec., 1947).

See HAWTHORNE above.

Harding, Walter. "A Check List of Thoreau's Lectures." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LXX, 78-87 (Feb., 1948).

Hoeltje, Hubert H. "Thoreau and the Concord Academy." *NEQ*, XXI, 103-109 (March, 1948).

The extant record of the Concord Academy shows that Thoreau got an early start toward his later proficiency in mathematics and classics, and that he participated in exercises in public speaking, a role in which he made his first serious effort to earn a living.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Patrick, Walton R., and Taylor, Cecil G. "A Louisiana French Plantation Library, 1842." *French-Am. Rev.*, I, 47-67 (Jan.-March, 1948).

The library of Claude Vincent de Ternant contained in 1842 a total of 422 volumes representing 87 different authors. An annotated inventory and a discussion of the library is printed.

Winkler, E. E. "Check List of Texas Imprints, 1861-1876." *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, LI, 230-251 (Jan., 1948).

III. 1870-1900

[ADAMS, BROOKS] Aaron, Daniel. "Brooks Adams: The Unusable Man." *NEQ*, XXI, 1-33 (March, 1948).

Brooks Adams was more didactic and active than his brother Henry, but both men saw eye to eye on laws of social change. Brooks Adams made a great show of being fatalistic, but behind a façade of scientific detachment he had a prevailing sympathy for man in his uneven contest with nature.

[ADAMS, HENRY] Shoemaker, Richard L. "The France of Henry Adams." *French Rev.*, XXI, 292-299 (Feb., 1948).

Adams's dislike of everything French was slowly broken down.

[BROWNSON, ORESTES] Ryan, Thomas R. "Brownson's Love of Truth." *Catholic World*, CLXVI, 537-544 (March, 1948).

———. "Brownson's Technique in Apologetics." *Am. Eccles. Rev.*, CXVIII, 12-22 (Jan., 1948).

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Gibson, William M. "Twain and Howells: Anti-Imperialists." *NEQ*, XX, 435-470 (Dec., 1947).

At the turn of the century, Twain and Howells attacked imperialism as Emerson and Thoreau earlier had attacked slavery.

[DICKINSON, EMILY] Strachan, Pearl. "Poets Have Something to Say." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XL, 5 (Feb. 14, 1948).

- [HARRIS, J. C.] Hess, M. Whitcomb. "The Man Who Knew Uncle Remus." *Catholic World*, CLXVI, 254-258 (Dec., 1947).

An appreciative biographical and critical sketch of Joel Chandler Harris.

- [HARRIS, W. T.] Berle, A. A., Sr. "W. T. Harris—Pragmatic Hegelian." *Jour. Phil.*, XLV, 121-133 (Feb. 26, 1948).

Enlightening reminiscences of the distinguished W. T. Harris, the St. Louis Hegelians, and the Concord group, by a man who attended the St. Louis public schools under Harris and who also knew him later in Concord.

- [HEARN, LAFCADIO] Stempel, Daniel. "Lafcadio Hearn: Interpreter of Japan." *AL*, XX, 1-19 (March, 1948).

Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan (1894) gives "the reactions of an enthusiastic traveler to the beauty of a strange new world"; in *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation* (1904) Hearn presents an unprejudiced and balanced analysis of Japan; in the nine intervening books we must be constantly aware of Hearn's reliance on Herbert Spencer's philosophy, his "irrational love of Japan," and his hatred of the West.

- [HOWELLS, W. D.] Gibson, William M. "Twain and Howells: Anti-Imperialists." *NEQ*, XX, 435-470 (Dec., 1947).

See CLEMENS above.

- [HOYT, C. H.] Hunt, Douglas L. "Charles H. Hoyt: Playwright-Manager." *Theatre Annual* (1942), pp. 42-50.

Hoyt, as a writer-producer-manager, delighted nearly a whole generation of American theatergoers.

- [JAMES, HENRY] Canby, Henry Seidel. "The Return of Henry James." *SRL*, XXXI, 9-10, 34-35 (Jan. 24, 1948).

A discussion, based on recent volumes written or edited by F. O. Matthiessen, of the resurgence in interest in Henry James: "I think that the most obvious reason why H. J. is gaining new and fascinated readers is that his style is no longer too difficult for us."

- [JAMES, WILLIAM] Stein, Leo. "Exercises in Criticism . . . William James." *Am. Schol.*, XVII, 161-165 (Spring, 1948).

James's books, "like the best literature, can bear rereading, for he offers something more than a doctrine that is to be learned.

- [LANIER, SIDNEY] Spiller, Robert E. "Sidney Lanier: Ancestor of Anti-Realism." *SRL*, XXI, 6-7, 24 (Jan. 10, 1948).

Lanier "provided by his studies and experiments rather than by his actual poetic achievement much of the preliminary groundwork for contemporary poetry."

[NORRIS, FRANK] Walcutt, Charles C. "Frank Norris and the Search for Form." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 126-136 (Winter, 1947).

The flaw in Norris's work is "a failure of theory, of intellectual consistency, which signifies in the novel a failure of form." Seduced by "the force, the energy, the romantic exuberance and newness of naturalism," he achieved no synthesis of materialistic monism and "the conventional universe of free will and moral responsibility."

[THAXTER, CELIA] Westbrook, Perry D. "Celia Thaxter's Controversy with Nature." *NEQ*, XX, 492-515 (Dec., 1947).

Celia Thaxter's fatalistic belief that nature is indifferent to man and that natural law is inexpugnable was an attitude unique in America in her day and resembles the views of the later naturalists such as Stephen Crane.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Copeland, Fayette. "The New Orleans Press and Reconstruction." *La. Hist. Quar.*, XXX, 149-337 (Jan., 1947).

McKee, Irving. "Notable Memorials to Mussell Slough." *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XVII, 19-27 (Feb., 1948).

The historic incident in the contest between the Southern Pacific Railroad and the farmers for possession of the San Joaquin Valley lands received literary treatment in Josiah Royce's *The Feud of Oakfield Creek* (1887)—his only novel, in Frank Norris's *The Octopus* (1901), and in Charles Edward Russell's *Stories of the Great Railroads* (1912).

Stern, Madeleine. "Mrs. Frank Leslie: New York's Last Bohemian." *N. Y. Hist.*, XXIX, 21-50 (Jan., 1948).

A biographical sketch.

IV. 1900-1948

[AIKEN, CONRAD] Albrecht, W. P. "Aiken's *Mr. Arcularis*." *Expl.*, VI (April, 1948).

[ANDERSON, SHERWOOD] Anderson, Sherwood. "Letters of Sherwood Anderson." *Berkeley*, No. 1 (Oct., 1947), pp. 1-4.

Letters to R. M. Lovett and others.

Sutton, William A. "Sherwood Anderson: The Spanish-American War Year." *Northwest Ohio Quar.*, XX, 20-36 (Jan., 1948).

Anderson was in Company I, 16th Regiment, Ohio National Guard.

[BISHOP, J. P.] Tate, Allen. "John Peale Bishop: A Personal Memoir." *Western Rev.*, XII, 67-71 (Winter, 1948).

[CABELL, J. B.] Wagenknecht, Edward. "Cabell: A Reconsideration." *Col. Eng.*, IX, 238-246 (Feb., 1948).

Cabell is essentially conservative: he is "above all else the novelist of acquiescence."

- [ELIOT, T. S.] Anon. "T. S. Eliot Receives British Order of Merit." *Pub. Week.*, CLIII, 632 (Jan. 31, 1948).
Daiches, David. "Some Aspects of T. S. Eliot." *Col. Eng.*, IX, 115-122 (Dec., 1947).

Eliot brought a "new technique and a new attitude into modern poetry." He examined Western civilization "not to compare it unfavorably with the peace and beauty of the countryside, or to denounce it as a prophet preaching a new way of life, or to find in it moments of excitement or drama or excuses for moralizing or for the play of sensibility . . . but to present it as a symbol of a basic failure on the part of modern man, as a picture of life without faith and without value."

- [FARRELL, J. T.] Farrell, James T. "The Sovereign Pen." *SRL*, XXX, 21, 28 (Dec. 20, 1947).

The novelist defends himself from H. M. Jones's charge (in a review of *Literature and Morality* in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, XXX, 18-19, September 6, 1947) that Farrell demanded of art "that it be sociologically and psychologically righteous."

- [FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Cowley, Malcolm. "William Faulkner." *Die Amerikanische Rundschau*, III, 31-40 (July, 1947).

A translation of Cowley's introduction to the *Viking Portable Faulkner*.

- [FITZGERALD, F. S.] Soupault, Philippe. "Présentation de Scott Fitzgerald." *Renaissances*, No. 18 (Feb., 1946), pp. 93-95.
[FROST, ROBERT] McMillen, L. "A Modern Allegory." *Hudson Review*, I, 105-108 (Spring, 1948).

In *A Masque of Reason* and *A Masque of Mercy* Frost has recognized the "possibility of combining some of the best elements of the Platonic dialogue, the Puritan allegory, and the closet drama in a modern philosophical and religious form of masque."

- [HELLMAN, G. T.] Hellman, Geoffrey T. "All About Geoffrey T. Hellman." *SRL*, XXX, 15, 26-27 (April 27, 1947).

Disarming autobiography.

- [LEWIS, SINCLAIR] Beck, Warren. "How Good Is Sinclair Lewis?" *Col. Eng.*, IX, 173-180 (Jan., 1948).

His work is marked by bad writing, clumsy and improbable characterization; it is without dignity, high comedy, irony, or true pathos.
Geismar, Maxwell. "Diarist of the Middle-Class Mind." *SRL*, XXX, 9-10, 42-45 (Nov. 1, 1947).

- A condensation of a chapter from *The Last of the Provincials*.
Woodward, W. E. "Sinclair Lewis Gets the Job." *SRL*, XXX, 10-11 (Nov. 1, 1947).

The record of Lewis's beginning with Woodward's book-reviewing syndicate.

[MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD] Amacher, Richard E. "MacLeish's *L'An Trentiesme de Mon Eage*." *Expl.*, VI, 42 (April, 1948).

[MASTERS, E. L.] Puranen, Erkki. "Edgar Lee Masters ja 'Spoon River Anthology.'" *Kirjallisuuden-tutkijain Seuran* (Helsingfors), IX, 88-116 [1947].

Masters as a poet considered in connection with his physical and psychic milieu. A French summary of the article is provided on pages 115-116.

[MERTON, THOMAS] Lissner, Will. "Toast of the Avant-Garde: A Trapist Poet." *Catholic World*, CLXVI, 424-432 (Feb., 1948).

Biographical and critical.

[MORE, P. E.] Shafer, Robert. "Paul Elmer More: A Note on His Verse and Prose Written in Youth, with Two Unpublished Poems." *AL*, XX, 43-51 (March, 1948).

Identification of unsigned contributions to *Student Life*, an undergraduate publication at Washington University, St. Louis.

[NEIHARDT, J. G.] Cuff, Roger Penn. "Neihardt's Epic of the West." *Col. Eng.*, IX, 69-72 (Nov., 1947).

[NIMS, J. F.] Ciardi, John. "John Frederick Nims and the Modern Idiom." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 105-110 (Winter, 1947).

Nims, an exemplar of twentieth-century idiom, is contrasted with Poe.

[O'NEILL, EUGENE] Basso, Hamilton. "The Tragic Sense." *New Yorker*, XXIV, 34-38, 40, 42-43; 34-38, 40, 43-44, 46-47; 37-40, 42, 44, 47 (Feb. 28, March 6, March 13, 1948).

Detailed biography and pungent criticism.

Brown, John Mason. "Canned Drama." *SRL*, 22-24 (Dec. 13, 1947).

Why *Mourning Becomes Electra* does not make a good motion picture.

[PECK, BRADFORD] Davies, Wallace E. "A Collectivist Experiment Down East: Bradford Peck and the Cooperative Association of America." *NEQ*, XX, 471-491 (Dec., 1947).

Peck's Utopian novel, *The World a Department Store* (1900), based on Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, contains his blueprint for a better society which he tried to realize by an ambitious co-operative mercantile establishment in Lewiston, Maine.

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Crowder, Richard. "E. A. Robinson's Camelot." *Col. Eng.*, IX, 72-79 (Nov., 1947).

"Robinson was not finding an escape in Camelot," but was "relating legendary characters and situations—and by implication possibly all history—to current . . . problems—man's duty to women, to society, and to God."

[ROSENFELD, PAUL] Mumford, Lewis. "The Wisdom of Paul Rosenfeld." *Ariz. Quar.*, IV, 35-45 (Spring, 1948).

[SANDBURG, CARL] Allen, Charles. "Cadenced Free Verse." *Col. Eng.*, IX, 195-199 (Jan., 1948).

Emrich, Duncan. "The Poet and the General: Carl Sandburg Meets General Eisenhower." *SRL*, XXXI, 9-11, 45-47 (March 20, 1948).

The General entertains an admirer.

[STEINBECK, JOHN] Bracher, Frederick. "Steinbeck and the Biological View of Man." *Pacific Spect.*, II, 14-29 (Winter, 1948).

Tarr, E. Whitney. "Steinbeck on One Plane." *SRL*, XXX, 20 (Dec. 20, 1947).

In Steinbeck's *The Pearl* there are three planes: the literal, the symbolic, and the musical.

[STEVENS, WALLACE] Lash, Kenneth, and Thackaberry, Robert. "Stevens' *The Emperor of Ice Cream*." *Expl.*, VI, 36 (April, 1948).

Tejera, V. "Wallace Stevens' *Transport to Summer*." *Jour. Phil.*, XLV, 137-139 (Feb. 26, 1948).

There are three stages of skepticism, observation, and invention in Stevens's attempt "to invest the world with form for a practical as well as a purely esthetic purpose."

Viereck, Peter. "Some Notes on Wallace Stevens." *Contemp. Poetry*, VII, 14-15 (Winter, 1948).

[TATE, ALLEN] Beatty, Richmond C. "Allen Tate as Man of Letters." *So. Atl. Quar.*, XLVII, 226-241 (April, 1948).

Tate as a literary critic, a poet, a novelist, and a critic of the world about him.

Walcutt, Charles C. "Tate's *The Cross*." *Expl.*, VI, 41 (April, 1948).

[WARREN, R. P.] Baker, Joseph E. "Irony in Fiction: 'All the King's Men.'" *Col. Eng.*, IX, 122-130 (Dec., 1947).

[WILSON, EDMUND] Anon. "U. S. Supreme Court Will Hear 'Hecate County' Appeal." *Pub. Week.*, CLIII, 1457-1458 (March 37, 1948).

When the case reaches the Supreme Court, it will be the first time that body has ruled on a state "obscene literature" statute.

[WOLFE, THOMAS] Wolfe, Thomas. "Something of My Life." *SRL*, XXXI, 6-8 (Feb. 7, 1948).

The complete autobiographical sketch which Wolfe wrote for Charles Schreiber's *Portraits and Self-Portraits*, but which was greatly cut for reasons of space when first printed.

[WYLIE, ELINOR] Amacher, Richard E. "Wylie's *The Tortoise in Eternity*." *Expl.*, VI, 33 (March, 1948).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Aiken, Conrag. "The Great Audience Is Ready." *SRL*, XXX, 7-8 (Sept. 20, 1947).

The opportunities for writers in America is very great.

Beary, Thomas John. "Religion and the Modern Novel." *Catholic World*, CLXVI, 203-211 (Dec., 1947).

Bromfield, Louis. "Calliope and the Critics." *SRL*, XXX, 7-8, 26-27 (Dec. 27, 1947).

"If American writing is sick, American reviewing and 'criticism' are much sicker."

Burman, Ben Lucien. "The 'Little Men' of Literature." *SRL*, XXXI, 5-6, 28 (Jan. 11, 1948).

"What is meant by criticism today? The phrase is meaningless, for criticism has ceased to exist. We have only the judgments of the Little Men with their cults of realism or existentialism or whatever the fad of the moment may be."

Gower, Herschel. "Nashville's Community Playhouse." *Holland's Mag.*, LXVII, 10-11 (March, 1948).

Hazard, Eloise Perry. "First Novelists of 1947." *SRL*, XXI, 8-12 (Feb. 14, 1948).

Short sketches of twelve beginners.

O'Connor, William Van. "The Influence of the Metaphysicals on Modern Poetry." *Col. Eng.*, IX, 180-187 (Jan., 1948).

Schorer, Mark. "Technique as Discovery." *Hudson Rev.*, I, 67-68 (Spring, 1948).

Includes a section on the technique of the novel as exemplified in Farrell, Dos Passos, Wolfe, Hemingway, and others.

Smith, Harrison. "Thirteen Adventurers: A Study of a Year of First Novelists, 1947." *SRL*, XXXI, 6-8, 30-31 (Feb. 14, 1948).

———. "Trends in American Literature." *SRL*, XXXI, 22 (Jan. 24, 1948).

A discussion based on popular reading today.

Tindall, William York. "The Sociological Best Seller." *Col. Eng.*, IX, 52-66 (Nov., 1947).

Current novels dealing with such sociological questions as the race problem serve a worthy social purpose, but few have any artistic claims.

Wilson, Arthur Herman. "Expatriate French Literature in America during World War II." *Susquehanna Univ. Stud.*, III, 19-34 (1945).

V. GENERAL

- Bobbitt, Mary Reed. "A Bibliography of Etiquette Books Published in America before 1900." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LI, 687-720 (Dec., 1947).
Fedash, Mayteel. "State of the Catholic Press." *Catholic World*, CLXVI, 416-423 (Feb., 1948).

Frey, John R. "George Washington in American Fiction." *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LV, 342-349 (Oct., 1947).

Discusses four novels since 1912 in which Washington is the principal character, and lists some thirty novels in which Washington appeared as a subsidiary character.

Gillis, James M. "Problems of a Catholic Writer." *Catholic World*, CLXVI, 481-486 (March, 1948).

Glicksberg, Charles I. "Poetry and the Freudian Aesthetic." *Univ. Toronto Quar.*, XVII, 121-129 (Jan., 1948).

Gloster, Hugh G. "The Negro Writer and the Southern Scene." *So. Packet*, IV, 1-3 (Jan., 1948).

Heiser, M. F. "Cervantes in the United States." *Hisp. Rev.*, XV, 409-435 (Oct., 1947).

The influence and vogue of a classic satire through three periods (the neoclassical, the romantic, and the realistic).

Hyman, Stanley Edgar. "Marxist Literary Criticism." *Antioch Rev.*, VII, 541-568 (Dec., 1947).

"Psychoanalytic Criticism of Literature." *Western Rev.*, XII, 106-115 (Winter, 1948).

Trends in the development of psychoanalytic criticism of literature since the publication of Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900).

Kendall, John Smith. "New Orleans Negro Minstrels." *La. Hist. Quar.*, XXX, 128-148 (Jan., 1947).

Leisy, E. E. "Literary Versions of American Folk Materials." *Western Folklore*, VII, 43-49 (Jan., 1948).

A collection, with brief notes, of folk materials from Irving, Cooper, Poe, Whittier, Lanier, Bret Harte, Mark Twain and others.

Ludwig, Emil. "American Impressions." *Contemp. Rev.*, No. 987 (March, 1948), pp. 141-146.

"Of the old ideals, love, idyll, literature, music, which are also on the decline in Europe, only one has survived in America, and that is God, about whom there is much controversy, but who enjoys also much worship."

Muller, Herbert J. "The Function of a Critical Review." *Ariz. Quar.*, IV, 5-20 (Spring, 1948).

Randel, William. "Nostalgia for the Ivy." *SRL*, XXX, 9-11, 39 (Nov. 29, 1947).

A discussion of American novels which portray college life.
Sylvester, Harry. "Problems of the Catholic Writer." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXXI, 109-113 (Jan., 1948).

Waggoner, Hyatt H. "American Literature Re-Examined." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 114-116 (Winter, 1947).

West, Ray B. "Truth, Beauty, and American Criticism." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 136-148 (Winter, 1947).

In American criticism Truth has been equated with "democratic" values; Beauty with decadence in politics, religion, and art: "The dichotomy still exists, but it sounds silly today when stated as bluntly as Hamlin Garland put it."

STEPHEN CRANE AT ASBURY PARK

VICTOR A. ELCONIN
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I

IN THE SUMMER of 1892 Stephen Crane left New York City, scene of his discouraging struggle for literary recognition, and joined his brother Townley as shore correspondent for the New York *Tribune* at Asbury Park. He was no stranger to the place or to the work of the shore reporter. He had spent part of his boyhood in Asbury Park, where his widowed mother had made her home in 1883; and he had been helping Townley with his *Tribune* correspondence every summer since 1888, when he was only sixteen.¹

Asbury Park was a resort which prided itself on its successful fusion of pleasure and morality. Actually it was not so much a fusion as a precarious balance, which was maintained, during Crane's time, largely through the efforts of James A. Bradley, the town's founder, principal property-holder, and leading citizen. Bradley enlisted the aid of the local churches in suppressing the sale of liquor and in prosecuting the violators of laws which forbade the sale of tobacco, candy, soda water, and even newspapers on Sundays. Repeated prosecutions, however, failed to stop the traffic in any of these items; and the reports to the *Tribune* from 1888 to 1893 tell a story of a continuing struggle, without issue, between Bradley and the defiant shopkeepers of the town.

Crane's duties were not confined to Asbury Park proper. They also included the goings-on at the adjacent resorts of Avon-by-the-Sea, where the Seaside Assembly dispensed summer education on the Chautauqua plan, and Ocean Grove, which advertised itself as "The Summer Mecca of American Methodists." The latter resort was not the place for the frivolous vacationer. Its summer's activities consisted of a continuous procession of religious conventions and gatherings of moral crusaders. In fact, "From the Fourth of July to the season's close," the *Tribune* reported, "the soul hungry for intellectual pabulum can feast to its fulness."² To the soul hungry

¹ Thomas Beer, *Stephen Crane* (New York, 1923), pp. 48 ff.

² "The Rise of Ocean Grove," *Tribune*, Aug. 17, 1889.

for other kinds of pabulum the place had little to offer. The sale of novels (as well as the wearing of indecorous bathing suits) was forbidden.³ Dancing was prohibited, although some of the more adventurous young people rowed across the lake for the evening dances at the Asbury Park hotels. "Donkey and soap-bubble parties are the only amusements enjoyed here openly," a dispatch to the *Tribune* reported. There were, however, rumors current of poker games played nightly in hotel rooms behind barred and bolted doors.⁴

Crane had been familiar with the activities at Ocean Grove since his childhood. His mother, a zealous attendant at the camp meetings, had reported the religious news of the resort for the *Tribune* and the *Philadelphia Press*. She had also been in some demand as a speaker at the various religious gatherings.⁵ Crane during his childhood and youth had accompanied her to these meetings often enough to have a thorough acquaintance with what he later called "the Methodist holy show" at Ocean Grove.⁶

It was these three groups—the vacationing solid citizens and fashionable idlers at Asbury Park, the seekers after culture at Avon-by-the-Sea, and the religious devotees at Ocean Grove—that came under Crane's scrutiny in the summer of 1892. It was a little like exposing such groups to the H. L. Mencken of the 1920's. In previous years Crane had behaved discreetly, contenting himself with stories as inoffensively banal as those of other resort correspondents. Perhaps his change in 1892 is to be attributed in part at least to his recent failure to interest editors in *Maggie*, which had been considered shocking and unprintable. The experience seems to have confirmed in him a sardonic attitude toward convention and propriety, a reckless disposition to hit out at smugness, impregnable rectitude, dull goodness, and perhaps hypocrisy, which boded no good for the people whose activities he had come to report. It is

³ "Gay Bathing Suit and Novel Both Must Go," *Tribune*, Aug. 5, 1888.

⁴ "Crowds at Ocean Grove," *Tribune*, Aug. 3, 1889.

⁵ On July 9, 1889, for example, she read before the New Jersey Woman's Christian Temperance Union a paper entitled "Press Work," which "brought on a lively discussion in regard to the attitude of the daily papers in publishing extended notices of prize fights and similar matters." The following week she addressed the Sunday School Assembly on the importance of teaching temperance to children in the Sunday schools. See "Temperance Women at the Seaside" and "Interested in Bible Lessons," *Tribune*, July 10 and July 18, 1889.

⁶ Beer, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

not surprising that he found himself in trouble before the summer was over. The surprising thing is that Townley did not detect alarming tendencies in his stories and attempt to curb them before it was too late.

Dispatches from the *Tribune's* numerous resort correspondents were unsigned. The problem of identifying Crane's, however, presents little difficulty. The work of no other American writer is more easily recognizable by its style, its manner, and its phraseology. The flippant cynicism and the iconoclastic tone that are such familiar marks in his fiction are the principal notes in these pieces. Some of the more obvious of his stylistic peculiarities—his heavy reliance on adjectives and adverbs, for example, and his delight in putting them to metonymical uses—are also prominent in these dispatches. And finally, there is Crane's lifelong habit of repeating himself in his writings. Some of the oddly turned phrases in these newspaper stories are also to be found in his fiction. It has not been possible to offer positive proof of Crane's authorship for each of the dispatches here identified as his. In every case, however, the resemblance to his known work is so strong as to preclude the possibility of another's authorship.

II

The first of Crane's dispatches in 1892 concerns Ocean Grove. The largest part of the story is taken up with a routine report of meetings of religious groups, an announcement of the formation of an association of pastors' wives, and a listing of the new arrivals. The first lines of the piece, however, are arresting:

The sombre-hued gentlemen who congregate at this place in summer are arriving in solemn procession, with black valises in their hands and rebukes to frivolity in their eyes. They greet each other with quiet enthusiasm and immediately set about holding meetings.⁷

There is a similar note of impudence in his dispatch the following day from Asbury Park. He announces that vacationers are arriving "by the avalanche," that hotel owners "are pelted with hailstorms of trunks and showers of valises," that the overworked baggagemen are "beginning to swear with a greater enthusiasm." Then:

Asbury Park is rapidly acquiring a collection of machines. Of course there is a toboggan slide. Now, in process of construction, there is an

⁷ "Meetings Begun at Ocean Grove," *Tribune*, July 2, 1892.

arrangement called a "razzle-dazzle." Just what this will be is impossible to tell. It is, of course, a moral machine. Down by the lake an immense upright wheel has been erected. This will revolve, carrying little cars, to be filled evidently with desperate persons, around and around, up and down.⁸

Two weeks later he wrote a more ambitious piece, a fifteen-hundred-word story on the principal forms of entertainment at Asbury Park. He describes the various fakirs who thrive on the gullibility of their "legitimate prey," the summer guests. They include the Hindoo peddlers, who "are, as a race, universally bow-legged, and are all possessed of ancestors who are given to waddling," and who "use large umbrellas of the rural pattern to protect their chocolate skins from the rays of the sun." There is also the "sleight-of-hand Italian, with a courageous mustache and a clever nose," who dupes the guests in the hotel lobbies.⁹ There are, too, the operators of the tintype galleries, who do a thriving business: "It is quite the thing to have one's features libelled in this manner. . . . Babies and pug dogs furnish most of the victims for these people." And there are the razzle-dazzle, the observation wheel, and the merry-go-round, "contrivances to tumble-bumble the soul and gain possession of nickels." But he obviously takes the greatest delight in describing one of the many groups of performing fakirs who found Asbury Park receptive to their talents:

Two Italians, armed with a violin and a harp, recently descended upon the town. With them came a terrible creature, in an impossible apparel, and with a tambourine. He, or she, wore a dress which would take a geometrical phenomenon to describe. He, or she, wore orange stockings, with a bunch of muscle in the calf. The rest of his, or her, apparel was a chromatic delirium of red, black, green, pink, blue, yellow, purple, white, and other shades and colors not known. There were accumulations of jewelry on different portions of his, or her, person. Beneath were those grotesque legs; above, was a face. The grin of the successful midnight assassin and the smile of the coquette were commingled upon it. When he, or she, with his, or her, retinue of Italians, emerged upon the first

⁸ "Crowding Into Asbury Park," *Tribune*, July 3, 1892.

⁹ Cf. "A stout gentleman, with pompous and philanthropic whiskers," in *Maggie, The Work of Stephen Crane*, ed. Wilson Follett (hereinafter cited as *Work*) (New York, 1926), X, 209; "a man with benevolent spectacles" and "a tall man with an indomitable moustache" in "An Experiment in Misery," *ibid.*, XI, 25, 33; and the "fierce and passionate whiskers" of James Bradley in the passage from "On the Board Walk" quoted below.

hotel verandah, there was a panic. Brave men shrunk. Then he, or she, opened his, or her, mouth, and began to sing in a hard, high, brazen voice, songs in an unknown tongue. Then he, or she, danced, with ballet airs and graces. The scowl of the assassin sat side by side with the simper and smirk of the country maiden who is not well-balanced mentally. The fantastic legs slid over the floor to the music of the violin and harp. And, finally, he, or she, passed the tambourine about among the crowd, with a villanously [*sic*] lovable smile upon his, or her, features.¹⁰

The following week Crane announces gleefully that trouble has broken out between the operators of the pleasure devices and the religious elements of the locality:

The big "Observation Wheel" on Lake-ave. has got into a great lot of trouble, and it is feared that the awe-stricken visitor will be unable to see the "wheel go 'round" hereafter. Complaints were made by the hotel-owners in the neighborhood that the engine connected with the machine distributed ashes and sparks over their counterpanes. Also, residents of Ocean Grove came and said that the steam organ disturbed their pious meditations on the evils of the world. Thereupon the minions of the law violently suppressed the wheel and its attendants.¹¹

In mid-August he devoted some seventeen hundred words to the boardwalk at Asbury Park, where people flocked in vast numbers every evening. They were attracted, he explained, neither by the sea nor by the cacophonous brass bands. Rather, "the people come to see the people. . . . For there is joy to the heart in a crowd. One is in life and of life then. Nothing escapes; the world is going on and one is there to perceive it."¹²

He undertakes, in the same article, to portray "the average summer guest" for his readers. His picture of how the successful businessman relaxes anticipates the bourgeois-baiting of the nineteen-twenties:

The average summer guest here is a rather portly man, with a good watch-chain and a business suit of clothes, a wife and about three children. He stands in his two shoes with American self-reliance and, playing casually with his watch-chain, looks at the world with a clear eye.

¹⁰ "Joys of Seaside Life," *Tribune*, July 17, 1892.

¹¹ "On the Jersey Coast," *Tribune*, July 24, 1892.

¹² Cf. *Maggie, Work*, X, 152: "At the corners he was in life and of life. The world was going on and he was there to perceive it."

He submits to the arrogant prices of the hotel proprietors with a calm indifference; he will pay fancy prices for things with great unconcern. However, deliberately and badly attempt to beat him out of fifteen cents and he will put his hands in his pockets, spread his legs apart and wrangle, in a loud voice, until sundown. All day he lies in the sand or sits on a bench, reading papers and smoking cigars, while his blessed babies are dabbling around throwing sand down his back and emptying their little pails of sea-water in his boots. In the evening he puts on his best and takes his wife and the "girls" down to the boardwalk. He enjoys himself in a very mild way and dribbles out a lot of money under the impression that he is proceeding cheaply.¹³

He also amuses himself at the expense of James A. ("Founder") Bradley, who "wears a white sun-umbrella with a green lining and has very fierce and passionate whiskers." An inveterate collector of curious items, he had cluttered up the boardwalk with them, along with helpful signs informing visitors of the history and value of each.

On the boardwalk now are some old boats, an ancient ship's bell, a hand fire engine of antique design, an iron anchor, a marble bathtub and various articles of interest to everybody. It is his boardwalk, and if he wants to put 7,000 fire engines and bathtubs on it he will do so. . . . No man should object to everybody doing as he pleases with his own fire engines and bathtubs.

"Founder" Bradley has lots of sport with his ocean front and boardwalk. . . . It warms his heart to see the thousands of people tramping over his boards, helter-skeltering in his sand and diving into that ocean of the Lord's which is adjacent to the beach of James A. Bradley.¹⁴

He affects great admiration for the admonitory signs which Bradley has posted all over the boardwalk, and elaborately approves of one in particular—"Modesty of apparel is as becoming to a lady in a bathing suit as to a lady dressed in silks and satins"—which, he observes, achieves a nice delicacy beyond the grasp of coarser-grained souls who write notices like "Do not appear on the beach when only enwrapped in reverie."¹⁵

The next day he turned his attention to the Seaside Assembly

¹³ "On the Board Walk," *Tribune*, Aug. 14, 1892. Beer, *op. cit.*, p. 89, refers briefly to this passage and states that Crane was "a little criticized" for writing it, but he gives no particulars.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

at Avon-by-the-Sea. The activities of the students of biology made little more sense to him than the collecting habits of Mr. Bradley, and he speaks of them with the same mixture of amusement and condescension:

The faculty and pupils of the Assembly's School of Biology are constantly engaged in inspecting great glass jars filled with strange floating growths in the laboratory on the banks of Shark River. Occasionally they vary this exciting pursuit by taking a boat and going to dig ecstatically for singular things in the mud flats of the outlet to the river. Microscopes and various instruments that vaguely resemble machine guns and the entrails of alarm clocks are to them, the world. But they are a good, jolly lot of fellows, who work with their sleeves rolled up and have sun-burned noses. If they prefer rare sea-weeds to very scarce bottled beer, it is their privilege [*sic*]; if they choose to chase June-bugs around the block on warm nights, no one may interfere with their proper pursuit of happiness.¹⁶

As for the girls in Madame Le Prince's sketching class—

They go on long tours after the browns and grays and greens of Shark River scenery. Under white umbrellas, tilted conveniently, they perch in rows on campstools, and chatter and paint and paint and chatter. Sometimes they seem to do more of one than the other, but, notwithstanding this, when they arrive home they always contrive to produce for inspection a fair amount of work done. They sail on the river and picnic on its bank; they have clambakes in the pine woods and chase the blithesome crab among the sea weeds at the river's bottom. Nevertheless, they sketch incidentally, and they sketch understandingly and well.¹⁷

III

Six days later he finally succeeded in getting into trouble. According to Beer, his offending story was written at a time when Townley was away attending a funeral. Willis Fletcher Johnson, who was day editor of the *Tribune* at the time and the man who had to assume the responsibility for passing and printing the story, has explained how it escaped the vigilance of his staff: ". . . news of all kinds was phenomenally abundant and taxed our capacity to handle and publish it; and the editorial offices were being remodeled and were in a state of physical confusion."¹⁸

¹⁶ "Along the Shark River," *Tribune*, Aug. 15, 1892.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ "The Launching of Stephen Crane," *Literary Digest International Book Review*, IV, 289 (April, 1926).

The story has never been reprinted,^{18a} and as a result the reports we have concerning it—except for Johnson's, which is substantially correct—are inaccurate, incomplete, or confusing.¹⁹ Occupying the first three paragraphs of an otherwise blameless dispatch largely devoted to a listing of new arrivals, the offending material consisted of a none too discreet report of a parade at the resort. It was a most inopportune time for such a story. No newspaper ever deliberately seeks to antagonize any part of its actual or potential reading public, but probably no newspaper was ever less willing to do so than the arch-Republican *Tribune* in the election year of 1892. Its publisher, Whitelaw Reid, was the Republican vice-presidential candidate. To Crane, this fact had nothing to do with what he felt impelled to say about a parade at Asbury Park. Undoubtedly, however, the connection was apparent enough to his brother Townley, to Johnson and his staff at the *Tribune* offices, and to the opposition press. When the story appeared in the *Tribune* on the morning of August 21, rival newspapers virtuously denounced it as a slur upon the honor of the American workingman. "Such distortion," writes Johnson, "was nothing less than a wilful and malicious lie, and was one of the most unscrupulous performances in a campaign that was characterized by entirely too much 'mud-

^{18a} This article was written before the appearance of the new Crane bibliography by Ames W. Williams and Vincent Starrett, where I first learned of the existence of Charles Honce's *The Public Papers of a Bibliomaniac* (Mount Vernon, 1942), which reprints the story. Honce's book was published in an edition of one hundred copies.

¹⁹ It is listed in B. J. R. Stolper, *Stephen Crane: A List of His Writings and Articles about Him* (Newark, 1930), p. 14; and in Claude E. Jones, "Stephen Crane: A Bibliography of His Short Stories and Essays," *Bulletin of Bibliography*, XV, 170 (Jan.-April, 1936). Stolper's note accompanying his listing, however, gives no indication that the story contains anything of interest. He describes it simply as an "unsigned article dated from Asbury Park giving the news from that resort with lists of people at hotels. Said to be earliest known writing of Crane."

See the following versions of the story: "Stephen Crane," *The Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (1900), X, 113; John D. Barry, "A Note on Stephen Crane," *Bookman*, XIII, 148 (April, 1901); Hamlin Garland, "Stephen Crane as I Knew Him," *Yale Review*, N.S. III, 495 (April, 1914), and *Roadside Meetings* (New York, 1930), pp. 190-191; Beer, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90; Max Herzberg, ed., *The Red Badge of Courage* (New York and London, 1925), pp. ix-x; and Oscar Cargill, ed., *The Social Revolt: American Literature from 1888 to 1914* (New York, 1933), p. 7. Garland's accounts in the article and in the book are virtually the same, although in the latter he correctly places Crane's story in the *Tribune*; in his earlier account it had appeared in "The Record." Garland recalled the year in which the story appeared as 1891, and Cargill uses the same date. Herzberg, apparently noting the discrepancy between the year as stated by Garland and that given by Beer, assigns the story to some indefinite period in Crane's early writing career. Even Johnson errs in stating that the story was written on Labor Day (see below).

slinging.' But it was probably accepted as true by many who had not seen the article itself, and for some days created a great sensation."²⁰ Complaints poured in from readers, and the *Tribune* made a full and embarrassed apology.

The paraders were members of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics of New Jersey, an organization which held an annual "American Day" parade at Asbury Park, marching over the city's principal streets for the edification of lounging vacationers and later holding a mass meeting at Educational Hall.²¹ Far from being a radical organization, even by reputation, as has been asserted,²² the Mechanics entertained no convictions which would not have found favor among the most conservative elements of that day or of this. Membership was open only to American-born citizens. "Our main objects," wrote a righteously indignant member of the Order after the appearance of Crane's dispatch, "are to restrict immigration, and to protect the public schools of the United States and to prevent sectarian interference therein. . . . We are bound together to promote Americans in business and shield them from the depressing effects of foreign competition."²³

Nor is it probable that the marchers carried banners proclaiming their advocacy of Benjamin Harrison and Whitelaw Reid, as Beer and others have stated. Johnson emphatically denies that the men carried such banners; Crane's dispatch makes no mention that the parade was of a political nature; and the writer of the protesting letter to the *Tribune* made it clear not once, but twice, that the organization officially recognized no party. It is likely enough that the members of the Order were of the Republican persuasion, and the *Tribune* therefore had reason enough to regret antagonizing them; but it is doubtful that the parade was avowedly a Republican demonstration.

As for the story itself, it carried not quite the moral indignation

²⁰ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

²¹ In previous years Townley had reported this annual event in more conventional fashion. There is nothing either offensive or interesting in these earlier stories. See the *Tribune* for Aug. 17, 1890, and Aug. 23, 1891.

²² See Cargill, *op. cit.*: "We know that Crane lost his *Tribune* job in July, 1891, for describing the 'dangerous' participants in a labor parade as 'a pale-faced, weak-kneed, splay-foot [*sic*] lot, the galley slaves of our civilization.' The city editor had expected a diatribe against the workers." Cargill's quotation is taken from Garland's paraphrase (see below).

²³ "Selections from the Mail," *Tribune*, Aug. 24, 1892.

that Garland's paraphrase would suggest;²⁴ nor was it so completely free from offense to the marchers as Johnson claims. The tone was rather one of quiet amusement. The shambling gait of the marchers was comic to the young man who had recently attended a military preparatory school. Further, there was something absurdly incongruous in the very appearance of a group of ruggedly honest working people at Asbury Park, where observers consisted chiefly of the languid and sophisticated idle rich and the profit-minded merchants of the town, both classes alike strangers to the phenomenon of manual labor. As an interesting early expression of his consistent approach to social criticism, his story is worth reprinting in full. Crane was never indifferent, as some critics have maintained, to social injustice; on the other hand, he never lashed out savagely against it. He had not the passionate ethical drive of the reformer. He rather looked upon social evils as one manifestation of the whole sorry but immutable scheme of things, and he contented himself with sardonic and cynical utterances apparently designed to show that he, at any rate, was not deceived. His story, not quite so brief nor so inconspicuously printed as Beer stated it to be, follows:

The parade of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics here on Wednesday afternoon was a deeply impressive one to some persons. There were hundreds of the members of the order, and they wound through the streets to the music of enough brass bands to make furious discords. It probably was the most awkward, ungainly, uncut and uncarved procession that ever raised clouds of dust on sun-beaten streets. Nevertheless, the spectacle of an Asbury Park crowd confronting such an aggregation was an interesting sight to a few people.

Asbury Park creates nothing. It does not make; it merely amuses. There is a factory where nightshirts are manufactured, but it is miles from town. This is a resort of wealth and leisure, of women and considerable wine. The throng along the line of march was composed of

²⁴ Cf. "Stephen Crane as I Knew Him," *loc. cit.* Garland, writing twenty-two years after the event, recalled Crane's showing him the clipping shortly after the story had appeared:

"It was very short, but it was closely studied and merciless in its realism. It depicted those tailors and other indoor workers exactly as they appeared to his mind,—pale, weak-kneed, splay-footed, the galley slaves of our civilization, men who wore their chains submissively, working in the dark for masters, voting for privilege, seemingly without the slightest comprehension of their own supine cowardice; but it was Crane's ironical comment, his corrosive and bitter reflection upon their servility, their habit of marching with banners at the chariot wheels of their conquerors, which made his article so offensive to the lords of the earth."

summer gowns, lace parasols, tennis trousers, straw hats and indifferent smiles. The procession was composed of men, bronzed, slope-shouldered, uncouth and begrimed with dust. Their clothes fitted them illy, for the most part, and they had no ideas of marching. They merely plodded along, not seeming quite to understand, stolid, unconcerned and, in a certain sense, dignified—a pace and a bearing emblematic of their lives. They smiled occasionally and from time to time greeted friends in the crowd on the sidewalk. Such an assemblage of the spraddle-legged men of the middle class, whose hands were bent and shoulders stooped from delving and constructing, had never appeared to an Asbury Park summer crowd, and the latter was vaguely amused.

The bona fide Asbury Parker is a man to whom a dollar, when held close to the eye, often shuts out any impression he may have had that other people possess rights. He is apt to consider that men and women, especially city men and women, were created to be mulcted by him. Hence the tan-colored, sun-beaten honesty in the faces of the members of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics is expected to have a very staggering effect upon them. The visitors were men who possessed principles.²⁵

We have no reports of indignant responses from either vacationers or tradesmen at Asbury Park. Apparently it was only the marchers who took offense. How many letters of protest actually reached the *Tribune* offices it is impossible now to know. Three days after the appearance of Crane's story the paper printed one from a member of the Order, protesting against "the uncalled-for and un-American criticism published in the *Tribune* . . . in regard to the annual outing of the order at Asbury Park. . . . Personally, I do not think the *Tribune* would publish such a slur on one of the largest bodies of American-born citizens if it knew the order, its objects, or its principles." After setting forth these objects and principles the writer concluded, somewhat bitterly: "We are not a labor organization, nor are we a military company, drilled to parade in public and be applauded for our fine appearance and precision; but we were appreciated for our Americanism and we were applauded for it."²⁶

The *Tribune* retracted handsomely:

We regret deeply that a bit of random correspondence, passed inad-

²⁵ "On the New Jersey Coast," *Tribune*, Aug. 21, 1892.

²⁶ "Selections from the Mail," *loc. cit.*

vertently by the copy editor, should have put into our columns sentiments both foreign and repugnant to *The Tribune*. To those who know the principles and policy of this paper in both its earlier and later years, its devotion to American interests and its abhorrence of vain class distinctions, it can scarcely be necessary to say that we regard the Junior Order of United American Mechanics with high respect and hold its principles worthy of all emulation. The offence which has been unintentionally given by the correspondence referred to is as much deplored by the *Tribune* as it is resented by members of the Order.²⁷

One final word in connection with this story and its repercussions. Its publication is commonly supposed to have resulted in Crane's dismissal by the *Tribune*. Inasmuch as both Barry and Garland recalled his having told them that the article had cost him his job, it is probable that Crane, for reasons of his own, chose to say so. He was not discharged, however. Willis Johnson relates the aftermath of the story:

Stephen was much agitated . . . and came to me to know what he should do, or what would be done to him. My reply was, nothing. The responsibility rested upon me, not him. But I "improved the occasion" with two suggestions. One was, that ordinary news reporting was not a good place for subtle rhetorical devices. The other was that a man who could write "Four Men in a Cave" ought not to waste his time in reporting that "The Flunkey-Smiths of Squedunk are at the Gilded Pazaza Hotel for the season."²⁸

The reason that Crane's dispatches ceased after the story of the marchers, Johnson explains, is that the parade occurred on Labor Day, when the resort was closed for the season "for news purposes." The story actually appeared, however, on August 21, and it was not the last piece of correspondence which Crane wrote that summer for the *Tribune*. Five days after the publication of the indignant letter in the *Tribune* the paper printed a dispatch which was unmistakably the work of Stephen Crane. The story, concerned primarily with the work of the Seaside Assembly at Avon-by-the-Sea, is not particularly interesting, but passages like the following, in which he speaks of a proposal to widen and deepen Shark River, betray his authorship:

In the days prior to the Revolution Shark River was a large deepwater bay. Pirates used to anchor their vessels in the deep channels and go

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

ashore to eat oysters and hang prisoners.²⁹ It is said that Captain Kidd himself frequented the river in a villanous [*sic*] black-hulled schooner.³⁰

His final dispatch of the summer—or rather the final dispatch which can with any certainty be identified as his—again was devoted to the Seaside Assembly. It is a long piece detailing the history and organization of the Assembly and reviewing the work of its various departments, but embedded in the dullness of the writing are tell-tale passages which point to Crane's authorship. There is the characteristic use of adjectives in his comment on "The Weekly News," a kindergarten project: "Fearful and wonderful journalism is often developed in the pages of 'The Weekly News.' The infantile brains evolve strange and weird things."³¹ There is also the tongue-in-cheek report of the painting exhibitions sponsored by the School of Art: "An evening is occasionally devoted to a reception in the studio. The summer guests of the hotels and the cottagers then throng the building, and go into raptures over the work of the school."

But, as in an earlier report on the Assembly, his writing takes on vivacity and his characteristic manner chiefly when he directs his attention to the students of the School of Biology and their unaccountable interest in their work:

The laboratory of the School of Biology is not upon the Assembly grounds proper. Over upon the banks of the Shark River is a little building standing like a peak-roofed centipede upon its legs of piling. During high tide the laboratory is up to its knees in the salt waters of the river, but a knot of boats that tug and haul at their chains at the foot of a long flight of steps shows the means of coming and going are at the command of the occupants. The interior of the building is a chaos of glass jars, in which swim various hideous animals, cans and tubs, microscopes and instruments of all sizes and kinds. Among these a little group of scientists is completely and gloriously happy from all accounts. There they sit all day long with plenty of light coming in through the big windows and pore over quaint bugs and beasts.³²

²⁹ Crane delighted always in the use of anticlimax, or in other couplings of incongruous ideas, for humorous or ironic effect. Cf. "Usually he brooded in silence over a bottle of beer and the loss of his crop" in "His Majestic Lie," *Work*, II, 203; and "It was to intimate that they would not give a rip if he had lost his nose, his teeth, and his self-respect" in "The Second Generation" (*ibid.*, II, 237).

³⁰ "The Seaside Assembly's Work at Avon," *Tribune*, Aug. 29, 1892.

³¹ Cf. "A Tent in Agony," *Work*, XI, 227: "Finally they ate the last bit of bacon and burned the last *fearful and wonderful* hoeecake." In "Joys of Seaside Life," discussed above, he speaks of the "fearful and wonderful" fakirs at the resort.

³² "The Seaside Assembly," *Tribune*, Sept. 6, 1892.

IV

The small group of writings examined here throws a little more light on a period in Crane's life which has been barely touched upon in Thomas Beer's excellent but by no means definitive biography. Although too much importance need not be attached to these early newspaper dispatches or to the environment in which Crane moved at Asbury Park, they are of some biographical interest, and they play at least a small part in the whole story of his artistic development.

These pieces are of no literary value. They contribute nothing to Crane's stature as a writer, and they give us no cause to revise our estimate of his final achievement. They are, however, far more revealing than one would expect a writer's hack work to be. The neglected literary aspirant who had been able to interest almost no one in *Maggie* stamped his bread-and-butter writing with all the egotism of the irrepressible creative writer. Working at one of the most routine of journalistic assignments, he yet managed to escape the anonymity which marked the work of other shore correspondents. He did not adopt the ready-to-hand jargon which served the needs of the others. His individuality is asserted both in the manner of his expression and in his subjective approach to his materials.

His iconoclasm in these pieces seems to go no deeper than the irreverence of the grinning schoolboy. Nevertheless they reveal Crane as the social nonconformist from the very beginning of his writing career. In *Maggie* he had commented sardonically upon the practice of missions in administering to the souls of impatient, unregenerate sinners who had come only for the soup.³³ He brought the same satirical bias to bear upon the people whose activities he reported for the *Tribune*. He had grown up in the pious climate of Asbury Park, Ocean Grove, and Port Jervis, but he had not found it agreeable. He was suspicious of "good works" and "good" people. He was always in rebellion against what he regarded as the social tyranny of complacent, intrenched respectability, and he chose to confront it with unabashed impertinence.³⁴

His refusal to pay lip service to convention accounts for the sus-

³³ *Work*, X, 151-152.

³⁴ In his later fiction he made a good deal of the gratuitous vindictiveness of respectable women. See his portraits of such women in *The Third Violet*, *The Monster*, "The Lover and the Tell-tale," and "The Stove."

picion with which his age regarded him and for the fantastic legends of debauchery which embarrassed him all his life. It explains, too, in large part, his failures as a newspaper correspondent. There was in Crane a directness, an honesty, an integrity altogether admirable in the creative writer, but it was regarded as something less than admirable by the editors for whom he wrote. Whitelaw Reid was not the last of the newspaper publishers to suffer from his cavalier disdain for the peculiar requirements of editorial "policy." In 1898 it was Joseph Pulitzer who was forced to come forward with public apologies after publishing Crane's exposure of the cowardice of New York's prized Seventy-first Volunteer Regiment during the action at San Juan—an exposure which no other correspondent at this action thought it politic to make.³⁵

³⁵ Since this was written, Ames W. Williams has published an article, "Stephen Crane, War Correspondent," *The New Colophon*, I, Part Two, 113-123 (April, 1948), which casts serious doubt on Crane's authorship of this story. The dispatch appeared in the *New York World* for July 16, 1898, and is attributed to Crane by Don C. Seitz in his *Joseph Pulitzer: His Life and Letters* (New York, 1924), p. 241, and in his "Stephen Crane: War Correspondent," *Bookman*, LXXVI, 137-140 (Feb., 1933). For evidence of the accuracy of the story's charges, see also Richard Harding Davis, *The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns* (New York, 1898), pp. 237-241, and Henry Cabot Lodge, *The War with Spain* (New York and London, 1899), p. 127.

HERMAN MELVILLE AND THE WAKE OF THE ESSEX¹

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FOR SEVERAL DECADES scholars have believed that the cause of the sinking of the *Pequod* at the close of *Moby-Dick* was most strongly suggested to Melville by the actual sinking of the Nantucket ship *Essex* by a whale. Now the publication of a major part of a Melville manuscript substantiates that belief.² It also enables us to give a relatively full account of Melville's acquaintance with the *Essex* and her survivors, and of his use of that acquaintance not only in *Moby-Dick*, but in other works as well.

The manuscript in question is an eighteen-page memorandum on blank leaves bound into Melville's copy of the *Narrative of the Most Extraordinary and Distressing Shipwreck of the Whale-Ship Essex*, written by the first mate of the *Essex*, Owen Chase.³ The memo-

¹ For valuable suggestions about this paper, I am indebted to Professors F. Barron Freeman and William M. Sale, Jr.

² Charles Olson, *Call Me Ishmael* (New York [cop. 1947]), pp. 26-32. Mr. Olson summarizes the story of the *Essex* and quotes some of the notes written by Melville in his copy of Chase's *Narrative* (see n. 3 below), but does not do more than mention that the destruction of the *Pequod* parallels that of the *Essex*.

³ The *Narrative* was published in New York in 1821. For the dating of the memorandum, see n. 21 below. On the flyleaf of his copy Melville wrote, "Herman Melville from Judge Shaw April. 1851." In addition to the memorandum, the association copy contains a letter from Thomas Macy transmitting the book to Judge Shaw.

Melville's copy was once owned by one of his granddaughters, Mrs. Abeel D. Osborne. In 1932 it was sold for her by the American Art Association-Anderson Galleries, bringing \$1,675. In 1938 it was sold as part of the Cortlandt F. Bishop Library, bringing \$1,700. Its most recent sale was from the Frank J. Hogan Library in 1945, for \$2,100. Mr. Olson wrote, in a note to part of the memorandum, "I publish these notes for the first time through the courtesy of the present owner of the volume, Mr. Percy Brown." Some of the notes, and a facsimile of one page of them, had been published in *The Frank J. Hogan Library: Part One* (New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., 1945), pp. 114-115. For verification of the provenance of the volume, see (1) *American Book-Prices Current: 1931-1932*, p. 82; (2) *New York Times*, Feb. 10, 1932, p. 21; (3) Charles R. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas* (New York, 1939), pp. 447-448; (4) *American Book-Prices Current: 1937-1938*, p. 86; (5) *American Book-Prices Current: 1944-1945*, p. 99. Mr. Olson and sources (1) and (2) state that the volume was published in London. The others, when they give any place of publication, give New York, and New York is given in *Moby-Dick* (I, xx [references to Melville's works are to the Standard Edition published by Constable and Company in London, 1922-1924]). New York is correct, as I learned when I saw Melville's copy of the *Narrative* in the late Mr. Hogan's bookroom in Washington in 1943.

randum is wholly concerned with Melville's knowledge of the persons and events of the *Narrative*. He tells, for example, that early in 1841 he first heard of the fate of the *Essex* from the crew and second mate of the *Acushnet*, the whaler on which he was then himself a seaman. During the latter part of 1841 the *Acushnet* spoke a ship commanded by Owen Chase himself. Melville saw him but could not speak to him. Yet before this meeting the crew of the *Acushnet* had visited a whaler among whose crew was Owen Chase's son. Melville had talked with him, and had borrowed from him a copy of the *Narrative*. Melville records that "the reading of this wondrous story upon the landless sea, & close to the very latitude of the shipwreck had a surprising effect" upon him.⁴

Melville's interest, thus engendered, cannot have known much intermission. Many of the books which he read in preparation for *Typee*, *Omoo*, and *Mardi* contained synopses of the *Essex* story, some "stupidly altered."⁵ In *Mardi*, Melville himself refers to the catastrophe: "the good craft *Essex*, and others, have been sunk by sea-monsters."⁶ And from several landmen, including his father-in-law, Judge Shaw, Melville received confirmation of the truth of Chase's *Narrative*, for they had met on Nantucket another survivor of the *Essex*, her commander, George Pollard.⁷ From Judge Shaw,

⁴ Olson, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁵ During the decade which separated his first learning of the *Essex* from his fullest literary use of that knowledge, Melville read widely in the literature of South Sea voyaging. Two works which he came to know well were *The History of Nantucket*, by Obed Macy (Boston, 1835), and the *Journal of Voyages and Travels*, by Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet (ed. James Montgomery; Boston and New York, 1832; 3 vols.). Both books were used as sources for *Moby-Dick* and earlier works (*Omoo*, p. 229; *Moby-Dick*, I, xix, xxi, 193; and David Jaffé, "Some Sources of Melville's *Mardi*," *American Literature*, IX, 56-69, March, 1937). Macy's *History* contains a summary of the loss of the *Essex*, apparently deriving it from Chase's *Narrative* (Macy, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-246). Tyerman and Bennet recount both the loss of the *Essex* as narrated by her commander, George Pollard, and the hardships of three seamen rescued from a barren island rather than from the ship's boats (Tyerman and Bennet, *op. cit.*, II, 170-175). Melville's memorandum itself says that "this thing of the *Essex* is found (stupidly altered) in many compilations of nautical adventure made within the last 15 or 20 years.

"The Englishman Bennett in his exact work (*Whaling Voyage Round the Globe*) quotes the thing as an acknowledged fact. . . .

"I have been told that Pollard, the Captain, wrote, or caused to be wrote under his own name, his version of the story. I have seen extracts purporting to be from some such work. But I have never seen the work itself" (Olson, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30).

Melville's reference is to Frederick D. Bennett, *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage Round the Globe* (London, 1840; 2 vols.), II, 218-220. The extracts purporting to be by Pollard may be the account in Tyerman and Bennet, printed "as nearly as can be recollected by Mr. Bennet."

⁶ *Mardi*, I, 46.

⁷ Olson, *op. cit.*, p. 29

Melville also received the copy of Chase's *Narrative* in which the memorandum is bound, "the only copy of Chase's *Narrative* (regular & authentic)" which Melville had seen since Chase's son had lent him one in the Pacific.⁸ The book reached Melville in April, 1851, exactly ten years after he had first heard of the *Essex*. In October of 1851 *Moby-Dick* appeared in London.

That the ending of *Moby-Dick* had been more strongly suggested to Melville by the story of the *Essex* than by any other source seems certain. It is true that Melville knew of at least one other ship that had been sunk by a whale, and of at least one that had been severely damaged, but for neither of these did he have such full information, and for neither of them did he have such intimate sources of information, as he had for the *Essex* by the time of writing *Moby-Dick*.⁹ Among these sources, his own copy of the *Narrative* can hardly have been of primary importance. Since *Moby-Dick* was published in England in October, the manuscript cannot have been finished in the United States more than a few months after Melville had received the *Narrative* in April.¹⁰ In those few months Melville could hardly have become indebted to his *Narrative* for any part of the novel so important as the ending, unless, to be sure, that ending was an improvisation of almost the last minute. Moreover, to call his own copy of the *Narrative* a significant source for *Moby-Dick* would be to ignore Melville's reading of the *Narrative* in 1841, his not having seen a copy between then and 1851, his reading about

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28. Melville habitually spelled Owen Chase's last name *Chace*; he was similarly careless with Tyerman and Bennet: *Tyerman and Bennet* (*Omoo*, p. 229), *Tyerman and Bennett* (*Moby-Dick*, I, xxi). These spellings occur in the first American editions of *Omoo* and *Moby-Dick* as well as in the Constable edition.

⁹ *Moby-Dick*, I, 259-260. The ships were the whaler *Union* and an American sloop-of-war. Probably Melville first heard about these as he had first heard about the *Essex*—through scuttlebutt; he probably read about the *Union* in Macy's *History of Nantucket* (*op. cit.*, pp. 237-242). In the matter of the *Union*, Melville differs from Macy in an important detail: Melville states that the ship was sunk by the onset of a whale; Macy, that it was sunk by striking on a whale. Melville may well have heard legends about the *Union* more useful to him than Macy's version. In the novel *Miriam Coffin* he probably found a third instance of a ship's being sunk by a whale (Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-56). As a fourth instance, Melville may have heard the report that Mocha Dick, perhaps the original for *Moby-Dick*, had sunk a coasting craft (John Freeman, *Herman Melville*, New York, 1926, pp. 192-193). The unrivaled importance of the *Essex* in shaping the history of the *Pequod* is further suggested by the *Essex's* being the only ship mentioned by name in the passage quoted above from *Mardi*.

¹⁰ On June 29, 1851, *Moby-Dick* was "half through the press" (letter from Melville to Hawthorne in Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife*, Boston, 1885, I, 399).

the *Essex* in many books other than Chase's, his use of the story in *Mardi*, and his conversations with the crew of the *Acushnet*, with Owen Chase's son, and with "some landsmen." It would also be to ignore two important aspects of Melville's creative process: In the first place, although what he learned by reading helped to shape his writing, his reading was no more operative than were other influences—what he learned by doing, seeing, listening, and thinking. In the second place, when he was influenced by books, he was as likely to be influenced by his imaginatively molded recollection of them as by any immediate and pointed consultation of them. The story of the *Essex* was highly important to the author of *Moby-Dick*; Owen Chase's printed version of that story was not of any great importance to the story Melville used. Nevertheless, Melville's copy of the *Narrative* did contribute some things to *Moby-Dick*—material for parts of two chapters of cetology, and six quotations, one of them in the "Extracts (Supplied by a Sub-Sub-Librarian)."¹¹ There was time between April and October of 1851 to bolster the probability of an ending already determined.

The first of the two chapters is "The Affidavit," in which Melville assembled varied information on whales, particularly on the power of whales. He was building the reader's faith in the might of the White Whale; he was taking away "any incredulity which a profound ignorance of the entire subject may induce in some minds, as to the natural verity of the main points of this affair."¹² The most important point was that the *Pequod* could be sunk as the *Essex* had been. The main proof was the fate of the *Essex*:

In the year 1820 the ship *Essex*, Captain Pollard, of Nantucket, was cruising in the Pacific Ocean. One day she saw spouts, lowered her boats, and gave chase to a shoal of sperm whales. Ere long, several of the whales were wounded; when, suddenly, a very large whale escaping from the boats, issued from the shoal, and bore directly down upon the ship. Dashing his forehead against her hull, he so stove her in, that in less than 'ten minutes' she settled down and fell over. Not a surviving plank of her has been seen since. After the severest exposure, part of the crew reached the land in their boats. Being returned home at last, Captain Pollard once more sailed for the Pacific in command of another ship, but the gods shipwrecked him again upon unknown rocks and

¹¹ *Moby-Dick*, I, xx; Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹² *Moby-Dick*, I, 254.

breakers; for the second time his ship was utterly lost, and forthwith forswearing the sea, he has never tempted it since. At this day Captain Pollard is a resident of Nantucket. I have seen Owen Chace, who was chief mate of the *Essex* at the time of the tragedy; I have read his plain and faithful narrative; I have conversed with his son; and all this within a few miles of the scene of the catastrophe.¹³

A footnote to this passage contains four quotations from the *Narrative*, all of them chosen to emphasize the purposeful maliciousness of the attacking whale.¹⁴ The first part of the passage itself, summarizing the shipwreck, takes the two quoted words, "ten minutes," from Chase's *Narrative*,¹⁵ but alters two facts for purposes which will be discussed later. The second part, giving Pollard's history and Melville's experiences, is based on those events recorded in the memorandum. Until very recently scholars were justified in suggesting, as one did, that in the last sentence of the passage Melville was "using a technique learned from Defoe."¹⁶ We can now be sure that, although Melville did use Defoe's technique elsewhere, he did not do so here.

"The Battering-Ram," the second chapter of cetology influenced by the *Narrative*, is separated from the first by thirty chapters, but is linked to it both by the common influence and by a similar purpose similarly stated. Here Melville is writing so that when he "shall hereafter detail to you all the specialties and concentrations of potency everywhere lurking in this expansive monster; . . . you will have renounced all ignorant incredulity."¹⁷ For this purpose he seems to have written the whole of this brief chapter as a more emphatic treatment of the material in Chase's *Narrative* enclosed by some of those sentences which Melville had quoted in the footnote previously referred to. Chase's version is this:

The mode of fighting which . . . [whales] always adopt is either with repeated strokes of their tails, or snapping of their jaws together; and . . . a case, precisely similar to this one [i.e., a whale's butting a ship], has never been heard of amongst the oldest and most experienced whalers.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 258-259. For fuller criticism by Melville of Chase's work, see Olson, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁴ Chase, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-39, 45, and 52.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁶ Raymond Weaver, *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921), p. 137. Anderson was properly cautious in the matter, leaving the truth of Melville's statements an unprejudicedly open question (*op. cit.*, p. 54).

¹⁷ *Moby-Dick*, II, 71.

To this I would answer, that the structure and strength of the whale's head is admirably designed for this mode of attack; the most prominent part of which is almost as hard and as tough as iron; indeed, I can compare it to nothing else but the inside of a horse's hoof, upon which a lance or harpoon would not make the slightest impression. The eyes and ears are removed nearly one-third the length of the whole fish, from the front part of the head, and are not in the least degree endangered in this mode of attack.¹⁸

This passage is clearly reflected in the following sentences of "The Battering-Ram":

You observe that his eyes and ears are at the sides of his head, nearly one-third of his entire length from the front. Wherefore, you must now have perceived that the front of the sperm whale's head is a dead, blind wall, without a single organ or tender prominence of any sort whatsoever. . . . The severest pointed harpoon, the sharpest lance darted by the strongest human arm, impotently rebounds from it. It is as though the forehead of the sperm whale were paved with horse's hoofs.¹⁹

Just before leaving *Moby-Dick*, let us return briefly to the passage on the *Essex* in "The Affidavit." Why, one might ask, was this sentence included: "Being returned home at last, Captain Pollard once more sailed for the Pacific in command of another ship, but the gods shipwrecked him again upon unknown rocks and breakers; for the second time his ship was utterly lost, and forthwith forswearing the sea, he has never tempted it since"? It is clearly irrelevant to Melville's immediate purpose of establishing the sinking of the *Essex* as a precedent for the sinking of the *Pequod*. But it is not irrelevant to a new development in Melville's interests. Before his conversations with Judge Shaw and some other landsmen, Melville's interest in the story of the *Essex* and its survivors had centered in Owen Chase and in the fatal whale. After those conversations, and perhaps after *Moby-Dick* had released and exhausted his concern with the whale, Melville's interest shifted to Captain Pollard.

Most of Melville's subsequent use of the *Essex* and her survivors

¹⁸ Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁹ *Moby-Dick*, II, 69-70. Notice that the use of "dead, blind wall" here, to refer to the whale's head, gives unusual richness of meaning to Ahab's later statement to the carpenter: "The dead, blind wall butts all inquiring heads at last" (*ibid.*, II, 300). Cf. also the symbol of the wall in Melville's "Bartleby the Scrivener."

stems from an event that was probably a third direct result of his talks with Lemuel Shaw about Captain Pollard. This event was Melville's meeting Pollard, probably in July, 1852. Melville's memorandum in the *Narrative* concludes with his noting that he "saw Capt. Pollard on the island of Nantucket, and exchanged some words with him. To the islanders he was a nobody—to me, the most impressive man, tho' wholly unassuming, even humble, that I ever encountered." Then Melville corrected his earlier record of Pollard's being a butcher; Pollard was really "a night-watchman."²⁰

A month later than the probable date of his interview with Pollard, Melville wrote to Hawthorne to suggest that the latter develop a story from facts which Melville had learned about a Nantucket Quakeress, Agatha Hatch Robinson. These facts Melville had learned some four weeks earlier on Nantucket, where a New Bedford lawyer had given him considerable information upon several matters, one of which could well have been the life of Captain Pollard.²¹ In any event, Melville seems to have had Pollard in mind as he suggested how Hawthorne might develop Agatha's story: "The father of Agatha must be . . . a man of the sea, but early driven away from it by repeated disasters. Hence, is he subdued & quiet & wise in his life. And now he tends a light house, to warn people from those very perils, from which he himself has suffered."²² This "subdued & quiet & wise" father is close kin to "the most impressive man, tho' wholly unassuming, even humble, that I ever encountered." The mutual humility appears in the men's occupations, the one a night watchman, the other a lighthouse keeper; both, having suffered repeated disasters at sea, pass their humble lives in safeguarding their fellow-creatures.²³

²⁰ Olson, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

²¹ Mr. Olson dates the interview as "probably July, 1852" (*ibid.*), without giving his reasons for assigning this date. I should suggest the following considerations: Melville dates his interview in this way: "Since writing the foregoing [notes] I—sometime about 1850-3—saw Capt. Pollard." The "foregoing" notes could hardly have been written earlier than Melville's receipt in April, 1851, of the book in which they are bound and to which they refer. April, 1851, should, then, be a *terminus a quo*. The possible influence of the interview on the Agatha letter suggests a tentative *terminus ad quem* of August 13, 1852, the date of the letter. And the letter begins, "While visiting Nantucket some four weeks ago" (S. E. Morison, "Melville's 'Agatha' Letter to Hawthorne," *New England Quarterly*, II, 296-307, April, 1929, p. 296).

²² Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

²³ Professor F. Barron Freeman has suggested to me that in the father of the Agatha letter we find the earliest evidence of Melville's desire to write at length about a sailor retired from the sea. The theme of a landlocked sailor appears again in *Clarel*, "John Marr," "Bridegroom Dick," and "Daniel Orme."

But the story of Agatha seems never to have been written by either Melville or Hawthorne. Not until twenty-four years after the Agatha letter did Melville publish any fruits of his interview with Pollard. In the interval Pollard's life was probably working in Melville's mind, for on an end page of his journal for 1856-1857 he wrote the enigmatic note, "Cap. Pollard. of *Nant*."²⁴ The note becomes less enigmatic, however, when one realizes that the journal for 1856-1857 records the experiences from which Melville selected much of the material for *Clarel*, which does contain the published fruits of his talk with Pollard.

In the first book of *Clarel* Melville uses a narrative by one character, Rolfe, to explain another character, Nehemiah. Perhaps Melville is not only explaining Nehemiah's background, but is revealing to the scholar that in Nehemiah, the "fitting tract-dispensing man," there is again much of "the most impressive man, tho' wholly unassuming, even humble" that Melville had ever encountered.

'I recall,'
Said Rolfe, 'a mariner like him
 . . . one whom grim
Disaster made as meek as he
There plodding. . . . Scarce would I tell
Of what this mariner befell—
So much is it with cloud o'ercast—
Were he not now gone home at last
Into the green land of the dead,
Where he encamps and peace is shed.
Hardy he was, sanguine and bold,
The master of a ship. His mind
In night-watch frequent he unrolled—
As seamen sometimes are inclined—
On serious topics, to his mate,
A man to creed austere resigned.
The master ever spurned at fate,
Calvin's or Zeno's. Always still
Man-like he stood by man's free will
And power to effect each thing he would,
Did reason but pronounce it good.
The subaltern held in humble way

²⁴ Herman Melville, *Journal up the Straits*, ed. Raymond Weaver (New York, 1935), p. 176.

That still Heaven's overrulings sway
Will and event.

'On waters far,
Where map-man never made survey,
Gliding along in easy plight,
The strong one brake the lull of night
Emphatic in his wilful war—
But staggered, for there came a jar
With fell arrest to keel and speech:
A hidden rock. The pound—the grind—
Collapsing sails o'er deck declined—
Sleek billows curling in the breach,
And nature with her neutral mind.
A wreck. 'Twas in the former days,
Those waters then obscure; a maze;
The isles were dreaded—every chain;
Better to brave the immense of sea,
And venture for the Spanish Main,
Beating and rowing against the trades,
Than float to valleys 'neath the lee,
Nor far removed, and palmy shades.
So deemed he, strongly erring there.
To boats they take; the weather fair—
Never the sky a cloudlet knew;
A temperate wind unvarying blew
Week after week; yet came despair;
The bread tho' doled, and water stored
Ran low and lower—ceased. They burn—
They agonise till crime abhorred
Lawful might be. O trade-wind, turn!

'Well may some items sleep unrolled—
Never by the one survivor told.
Him they picked up, where, cuddled down,
They saw the jacketed skeleton,
Lone in the only boat that lived—
His signal frittered to a shred.

"Strong need'st thou be," the rescuers said,
"Who hast such trial sole survived."

"I *willed* it," gasped he. And the man,
Renewed ashore, pushed off again.
How bravely sailed the pennoned ship

Bound outward on her sealing trip
Antarctic. Yes; but who returns
Too soon, regaining port by land
Who left it by the bay? What spurns
Were his that so could countermand?
Nor mutineer, nor rock, nor gale
Nor leak had foiled him. No; a whale
Of purpose aiming, stove the bow:
They foundered. To the master now
Owners and neighbours all impute
An inauspiciousness. His wife—
Gentle, but unheroic—she,
Poor thing, at heart knew bitter strife
Between her love and her simplicity:
A Jonah is he?—And men bruit
The story. None will give him place
In a third venture. Came the day
Dire need constrained the man to pace
A night patrolman on the quay
Watching the bales till morning hour
Through fair and foul. Never he smiled;
Call him, and he would come; not sour
In spirit, but meek and reconciled;
Patient he was, he none withstood;
Oft on some secret thing would brood.
He ate what came, though but a crust;
In Calvin's creed he put his trust;
Praised heaven, and said that God was good,
And his calamity but just.²⁵

This reworking of the *Essex* disaster contains one element of fact which Melville had not previously used in print—a fatal mistake of the captain noted in the *Essex* memorandum:

All the sufferings of these miserable men of the *Essex* might, in all human probability, have been avoided had they, immediately after leaving the wreck, steered straight for Tahiti, from which they were not very distant at the time and to which there was a fair trade wind. But they dreaded cannibals & strange to tell knew not that for more than 20 years the English missions had been resident in Tahiti, & that in the same year of the shipwreck—1820—it was entirely safe for the ships to touch at Tahiti.

²⁵ *Clarel*, I, 146-149.

But they chose to stem a head wind & make a passage of some thousand miles (an unavoidably roundabout one, too) in order to gain a civilized harbour on the coast of South America.²⁶

In *Clarel* Melville also introduces the death of the captain of the lost vessels—he has

gone home at last
Into the green land of the dead.

The historical Pollard had died in 1870,²⁷ six years before *Clarel* was published; Melville had probably heard of his death.

But Melville was not, of course, merely giving in *Clarel* his fullest summary of Pollard's story. He was following his customary procedure of shaping material to fit an artist's purposes. The ostensible end for which he introduced the summary has already been stated; within the episode itself he acted to achieve other goals.

Melville knew, for example, that before the survivors of the *Essex* were picked up, they had practiced cannibalism which both Chase and Pollard later described in considerable detail. These details Melville concealed:

They agonise till crime abhorred
Lawful might be. . . .
Well may some items sleep unrolled—
Never by the one survivor told.

Was this mere suggestion calculated to be more horrifying than the full facts, or to spare the sensibilities of readers of *Clarel* as Byron had not spared the readers of *Don Juan*, or to gain sympathy for the captain by having him conceal some deeds of which humanity likes to think itself incapable? Was the evasion a necessary preparation for the captain's brooding "on some secret thing"? Or, finally, was Melville afraid that open mention of cannibalism would divert emphasis from the major purposes of the episode?²⁸

Of those major purposes, one not relating to Nehemiah pertained to the freedom and power of the will, and dictated two major

²⁶ Olson, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

²⁷ Gustav Kobbé, "The Perils and Romance of Whaling," *Century Magazine*, XL, 509-525 (Aug., 1890), p. 521; and John R. Spears, *The Story of the New England Whalers* (New York, 1908), p. 311. Spears adds that for many years Pollard was "on the police force at Nantucket," probably corroborating Melville's "night-watchman."

²⁸ Cf. "the severest exposure," the euphemistic expression in the summary previously quoted from *Moby-Dick*.

changes in the story. Involved in the first is Melville's knowledge that Pollard's had not been the only boat from the *Essex* to survive, and that Pollard had not been the sole survivor of his boat. Yet in *Clarel* the captain is "Lone in the only boat that lived." The chief purpose behind this change was to give fullest meaning to the captain's explanation of his survival: "I *willed* it."²⁹

The second change related to the freedom and power of the will involves the causes of the sinking of the captain's ships. In Pollard's life, his first command was sunk by a whale; his second, by unmapped rocks. In *Clarel*, the captain's first command is sunk by a hidden rock; it is his second that is sunk by a whale. This inversion of the causes of the wrecks was probably made to permit the captain's will to triumph first over misfortune seemingly accidental. The captain's pride is thus increased by his having survived his first disaster, but the reader has already been given a hint of human weakness in the captain: the captain was fatally ignorant. Pollard's mistake about where the boats should head was kept as a sequel to the first wreck in *Clarel*, even though Melville had changed the cause of that wreck. In maintaining this sequence Melville was showing that the master's knowledge was "strongly erring." So too was the master's will.

The master's pride in his will fell because the second wreck was not an accident; the whale had been *of purpose aiming*. The captain's human will sensed the presence of some stronger force. Some great power, some God, perhaps, seemed to have used the whale to demonstrate that human will has human limits. Such was one of the lessons taught by Moby-Dick to Ahab. Such was probably the secret thing on which the captain brooded. It was best to be humble in the world of such a power. A further, minor change in the facts merely emphasizes this theme. Both of Pollard's ships had been whalers; the captain in *Clarel* commands first a ship of unspecified type, and then a sealer. Melville's purpose seems clear: that a whaler should be sunk by a whale appears to be an act of immediate, blind revenge; that a sealer should be so sunk may be the premeditated act of a superior intellect—an act to elicit brooding.

But there may be some point in asking whether Melville himself

²⁹ Melville suggested to Hawthorne that Agatha's future husband "should be the only survivor" of a wreck, and that Agatha should be made his savior (Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 300). Here the motif of the only survivor is to motivate the survivor's marrying Agatha.

broods in Pollard's brooding. For example, there are several traces of *Moby-Dick* in the passage from *Clarel*. Not only do both stories include a whale which, "of purpose aiming," staves a ship, but both contain a parallel contrast between mate and captain. There is more than a hint of Starbuck in the mate who

held in humble way
That still Heaven's overrulings sway
Will and event.

In contrast is the strong-willed captain who stood manlike

by man's free will
And power to effect each thing he would.

If this is not Ahab himself, it is at least much more Ahab than it is Pollard, the night watchman; and behind Ahab's spirit lurks the spirit of the Melville of 1851. In the same way, behind the spirit of the landlocked captain in *Clarel* lurks the spirit of the Melville of 1876. "Lurks," not "stands."

Certainly Melville's job in 1876 lurks not far from Pollard's and the captain's:

Came the day
Dire need constrained the man to pace
A night patrolman on the quay
Watching the bales till morning hour
Through fair and foul.

In 1866 dire need had constrained Melville to become an Inspector of Customs in New York, watching the bales on the quays through fair and foul. Melville still held the post when *Clarel* was published. And did Melville's literary experience lurk near the captain's physical experience? Melville's first wreck in authorship had been on the unknown reef surrounding *Mardi*; his second had been caused by a White Whale. Finally, at least a decade or so after *Moby-Dick* had destroyed Melville's popularity with his contemporaries, his spirit had gained something in common with the captain's. By 1876 Melville was, like the captain,

not sour
In spirit, but meek and reconciled;
Patient he was, he none withstood;

Oft on some secret thing would brood.
He ate what came, though but a crust.

The first of these lines may well be Melville's rebuke of the spirit of Ahab and of his own younger self. Herman Melville may even be writing of Elizabeth Shaw Melville in his lines about the captain's wife,

Gentle, but unheroic—she,
Poor thing, at heart knew bitter strife
Between her love and her simplicity:
A Jonah is he?

Yet Pollard, not Melville, was the factual source of the passage in *Clarel*. There are, nevertheless, other sources than factual ones. Indeed, what makes an author use one factual source instead of another? In many instances he must choose because of sympathies of body and spirit. In some instances he may be happy that he can see in his work not only his art-centered thought, but also his self-centered thought and his deeds.

The rich interplay of material from several sources, the careful adaptation of each detail to a complex artistic purpose counteract the impression left by the versification and the diction, and mark Rolfe's story in *Clarel* as the work of a skilful writer. The same kind of workmanship, however, can be glimpsed in Melville's third book, *Mardi*, of twenty-seven years earlier. There, it will be remembered, Melville wrote that "the good craft *Essex*, and others, have been sunk by sea-monsters." Why "sea-monsters" instead of "whales"? Because Melville introduced this reference in the chapter, "Of the Chondropterygi, and Other Uncouth Hordes Infesting the South Seas," and introduced it in that part of the chapter where his purpose was to prove that "the sea-serpent is not a fable."⁸⁰ A prosaic whale would not have served his purpose.

Even in *Moby-Dick*, the summary of the loss of the *Essex* departs from some details of Chase's and others' accounts of the story. Some version among those "stupidly altered" may substantiate Melville, but probably he has wisely altered the story with no authority but that of artistic desirability. He states that the whale struck once

⁸⁰ *Mardi*, I, 45. This thirteenth chapter of *Mardi*, in which the *Essex* is referred to, is remarkably like the thirty-second chapter of *Moby-Dick*. The former chapter describes various kinds of sharks; the latter catalogues whales.

instead of twice, and that the survivors "reached the land in their boats" instead of being picked up by whalers.³¹ The first of the two alterations amplifies the power of the whale; the second emphasizes the isolation of men sailing the Pacific. A shaping purpose can be seen again.

The material with which to serve a shaping purpose often came to Melville in unexpected ways, and the pursuit of that material and of those ways may lead to unexpected attics and salons of his mind. The spinning of yarns aboard his Yale College and his Harvard, as he called the *Acushnet*,³² told him of men he was to meet and to remember, and of happenings he was to read and to write about. One yarn in particular, spun as much from what he heard as from what he read, and many years in the spinning as well as in the weaving, was to provide the strongest suggestion for the ending of his greatest book, as well as the most convincing validation of that ending. That yarn was also drawn into his writing here and there from 1849 to 1876, from *Mardi* to *Clarel*. Where necessary, it was dyed to match the surrounding sea-monsters or religious enthusiasts. Sometimes it colored but one small portion of a design; sometimes it outlined the design itself and marked Melville's thinking about the way of will in the world.

³¹ Melville states that the fatal whale, "escaping from the boats, issued from the shoal." This account is close to Pollard's version (n. 5 above), but not to Chase's. It is not, however, inconsistent with Chase's.

³² *Moby-Dick*, I, 139.

POE AND THE BEAUTIFUL CIGAR GIRL

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IN DECEMBER, 1891, and January, 1892, a civil suit was tried in the Supreme Court, New York County, before the Honorable Justice Edward Patterson and a jury, in which evidence was presented throwing light on one of the most widely publicized mysteries in the annals of our criminal law and involving a landmark of American literature, Poe's "Mystery of Marie Roget."

Mrs. Laura V. Appleton, the plaintiff in this action, had no thought of reviving interest in an ancient "murder" case or adding a footnote to the history of American literature; but incidentally she did both things. The material, however, has been permitted to lie dormant for more than half a century in the official minutes taken on the trial. The suit which she brought, entitled *Laura V. Appleton v. The New York Life Insurance Company and Frederick A. Hammond*, may be technically described as an action in ejectment to recover an undivided one-fifth share or part of the Hotel Plaza in the City of New York.

The land on which the Plaza stood had belonged to Mrs. Appleton's father, John Anderson, a wealthy and prominent citizen of Westchester County, New York. He had devised it under his will (as part of his residuary estate) to his only son, John Charles Anderson. The New York Life Insurance Company claimed title to the property through foreclosure of a mortgage thereon; and Hammond was in possession as the lessee. Mrs. Appleton sought to have her father's will declared null and void on the ground that he had been mentally incompetent when he executed it; and she, being one of five children, claimed the one-fifth share of his property, to which she would have been entitled if he had died intestate.

Distinguished legal talent participated in the trial of this case. Colonel Edward C. James, of the firm of James, Schell and Elkus, then a leader of the New York bar, represented the plaintiff; Joseph H. Choate appeared for one defendant, The New York Life Insurance Company; and William B. Hornblower acted on behalf of the other defendant, Hammond.

About ten years had elapsed since the death of John Anderson and the probate of his will in the Surrogate's Court, but Colonel James handled the case so ably as to overcome this handicap. In his endeavor to prove the testator's mental incapacity at the date when the will was signed, he managed to put in evidence a fairly complete history of Anderson's life. Extraordinary facts were brought to light, illustrating the part played by Mary Rogers in the rise to "fame and fortune" and in the final mental collapse of John Anderson.

When a young man Anderson came from Boston to New York and worked as a laborer, first in a wool-pulling plant, and afterwards as a bricklayer. Then an employer, a master brickmason named Asa Pritchard, set him up in a small tobacco business on the north side of Wall Street, between Nassau Street and Broadway.

A major factor in the success of his early venture as a tobacconist (at 319 Broadway) was his beautiful and fascinating young clerk, Mary Rogers. The gay blades of the city as well as transient visitors who liked to adopt urban manners while in town, called her by her Christian name and found her society agreeable. Anderson's shop became known as a place to visit, and the fame of his "beautiful cigar girl" was spread far and wide. She did much to tip the scales of fortune in his favor. Anderson's business grew and soon required more spacious quarters.¹

Subsequent to Mary's death, his business received an impetus from a casual remark of Major General Winfield Scott, who while in New York became acquainted with one of Anderson's brands of chewing tobacco, which he kept moist by wrapping in tinfoil. The General told him he found it a "great solace." Anderson capitalized on the remark by labeling the product "Anderson's Solace Tobacco" and advertising it extensively. Enormous quantities of it were sold to the soldiers of the Mexican War and to miners in California in 1849. A few "old timers" now living in New York (and perhaps elsewhere) still recall having seen the cases

¹ The reputation of the place is now legendary. For example, an article in the *New York Sunday News*, Sept. 21, 1941, alleges that Poe, Cooper, and Irving were among Anderson's regular patrons, and that John Jacob Astor's brilliant young secretary, Fitz-Greene Halleck, once wrote a poem in Mary's honor. An examination of Halleck's published works fails to reveal any such poem, though he may have written one which escaped collection. The present writer could elicit from the writer of the article named no definite information about his authority concerning the literary lights listed as Mary's admirers.

in which "solace" tobacco was packed, adorned with bright, gaudy wrappers and labels.

Later Anderson embarked in more ambitious enterprises, including real estate transactions, and finally accumulated two or three million dollars. He became an important figure in the life of the city and was seriously suggested as a candidate for mayor. His later years were spent on a handsome estate in Tarrytown. He died in Paris on November 22, 1881. His body was shipped home and funeral services were held in Trinity Church, New York.

Meanwhile what had become of Mary Rogers, who had aided his business so materially? Her smile had long ceased to brighten the hours of friends and associates, but her death had failed to terminate her influence on the destiny of John Anderson. She left his employ late in the year 1840, but he never forgot her. She devoted the remainder of her short life to assisting her widowed mother in the management of a boarding house, located at 126 Nassau Street, near the corner of Beekman Street. Her personal popularity continued. She did not lack admirers (among whom was a naval man); and she was engaged to one of her mother's boarders, Daniel C. Payne.

On the morning of Sunday, July 25, 1841, she left her mother's home, saying that she was going to call on an aunt, Mrs. Downing, who lived at 68 Jane Street. She arranged for Payne to meet and escort her home that evening. Her failure to return at the expected hour was at first attributed to a short but severe storm. Later her absence occasioned much anxiety, and her mother exclaimed, "We'll never see her again!" On Wednesday, July 28, her body was found floating in the Hudson River near Hoboken. The condition of the body indicated death by violence rather than drowning.

Investigation revealed that she had crossed over by ferry to New Jersey, accompanied by a tall, well-dressed man of dark complexion, and had visited with him a tavern in Hoboken kept by a Mrs. Loss. The landlady reported that they had had some refreshments and then left her place, after which she had never seen them again. Later she claimed that her sons had found Miss Rogers's parasol and gloves in a near-by thicket. People thought she had been killed there and her body dragged by a rope to the river and thrown in. It also seems to have been understood subsequently (from a dying

statement of Mrs. Loss) that Mary had died from an illegal operation.²

The affair created a sensation in the city. Poor Mary was probably considered the greatest beauty in New York, and even those who had not seen her were stirred by the atrocity of the crime, featured and discussed at length in the newspapers. There was a strong demand that the guilty person or persons be brought to justice. It was the prevailing opinion that the outrage had been perpetrated by one of the gangs known to frequent Hoboken, an impression due in part to a statement by Mrs. Loss that one of these gangs had visited her tavern on the very day of Mary's disappearance.

Poe's celebrated tale, "The Mystery of Marie Roget," first appeared in Snowden's *Ladies' Companion* for November, 1842-February, 1843. He made no secret of the fact that the story was told with a series of fictitious names: Marie Roget for Mary Rogers, Paris for New York, the Seine for the Hudson, etc. There were perhaps two reasons for the adoption of this machinery: Poe's desire to avoid a libel suit and an artistic desire to explain how his detective Dupin could be involved, for Dupin was a Parisian.

"The Mystery of Marie Roget" was long accepted as a fine example of pure reasoning and as a remarkable achievement in the field of crime detection. Without the discovery of a single new or previously unknown fact, the author professed to evolve a solution of the crime from a subtle analysis of the reports printed in the newspapers. He maintained that the deed was done, not by a gang, but by one person—the tall, dark man who had accompanied Mary to Hoboken, and though ahead of our story, he was right in this. He reached the further conclusion that this man was a naval officer; also that he had been responsible for Mary's unexplained absence from Anderson's shop on a former occasion—in this Poe was incorrect. This ingenious tale went far toward removing the Rogers case from the realm of law into that of literature.

Some of the minor statements in Poe's fairly correct summary of known facts are erroneous. For example the date of Mary's disappearance was not "Sunday, June 22." June 22 fell on a Tuesday. The true date was July 25, 1841, as above stated. He incorrectly

² Edward Van Every, *Sins of New York* (New York, 1930), p. 98. Poe knew nothing of the possibility of an "accident" before his story appeared in print. In revising his text later, the poet added a few phrases which suggest that he knew of the Loss "confession."

calls the sons of Mrs. Loss "small boys." They were old enough to have incurred suspicion of being the guilty parties; and one of them fatally shot his mother not long afterwards—accidentally, he said—but some people thought he did it because she talked too much. At any rate they were not "small boys." Some of his reasoning is decidedly questionable. The plain fact is that Poe, although a consummate literary artist, was not a detective, nor was his logic infallible.

Edgar Allan Poe was not the only person gifted with imagination to succumb to the lure of the problem presented by the death of the "beautiful cigar girl." During the period of more than one hundred years which has since elapsed, a large number of theories have been advanced and a remarkable body of "literature" has grown up concerning her tragic fate. Such theories and writings presented or known to exist were exhaustively reviewed in an article by William Kurtz Wimsatt, Jr., of Yale, published in March, 1941.³ Nothing of importance relevant to the subject appears to have escaped the notice of this indefatigable student, except the minutes of the trial of the case of *Appleton v. The New York Life Insurance Company, et al.*, referred to above.

The failure of Wimsatt to find this material is easily explained. The Appleton case was never decided by the court, and hence no record of it appears in the printed law reports. It was settled out of court by the payment of a very substantial sum of money to the plaintiff. No copy of the minutes of the trial now exists anywhere so far as the writer is aware, except the copy which he has examined, still preserved in the office of McLanahan, Merritt and Ingraham (in New York City), successors of the law firm whose senior member tried this case on behalf of the plaintiff.

In the course of the trial evidence was presented that Anderson had frequently made statements concerning his former employee, Mary Rogers, which were briefly as follows: that soon after the finding of her body he had been arrested and examined, but was soon discharged for lack of evidence tending to connect him with the crime; that his arrest had become known to a number of persons (including James Gordon Bennett, editor of the *New York Herald*) and had seriously injured his reputation; that the powerful Tam-

³ "Poe and the Mystery of Mary Rogers," *PMLA*, LV, 230-248.

many leader, Fernando Wood, had once asked him to become candidate for Mayor of New York but he had refused from fear of what might be said during the campaign about his connection with the Rogers case; that on another occasion prior to Mary's final disappearance and death an abortion had been performed on the girl and that he had gotten "in some trouble over it"—but outside of *that* there was absolutely no reason to suspect him of any connection with her death; that he didn't want people to believe he had anything to do with her "taking off"—and indeed he *hadn't*. "anything *directly, himself*" to do with it!

There was a great deal of testimony to the effect that for years after Mary's death Anderson had frequently talked about seeing and conversing with her ghost and had declared that he had "had many, *very* many, unhappy days and nights in regard to her." The chief witnesses testifying to such statements as these were Felix McCloskey of New York City (who claimed relationship to Cardinal McCloskey and who had long been Anderson's partner in business) and the Honorable Abner C. Mattoon, a well-known citizen and politician of Oswego, New York.

The numerous commentators on the Rogers "mystery" seem to have been unaware of the testimony pertaining to the same presented in the Appleton case. Woodberry refers indefinitely to the matter in a note, but gives a wrong date (1901) and minimizes its importance.⁴

On October 8, 1841, Mary's fiancé, Payne, committed suicide at the supposed scene of the "murder." Some persons, including the famous diarist, Philip Hone, thought this a confession of guilt. Payne left a note which read, "Here I am on the very spot. God forgive me for my misspent life."⁵ This is a confession not of a deed but a failure to do something. No investigators in later times have regarded Payne as the guilty man.

The writer does not presume to offer at this late date any positive solution of the famed "Mystery of Marie Roget." No real legal proof, even if such were ever available, could now possibly be produced.

Nevertheless certain conclusions are irresistibly forced upon the

⁴ G. E. Woodberry, *Life of . . . Poe* (New York, 1909), I, 382. He evidently had not seen the trial records, and refers only to Anderson's belief that Mary's ghost came to him.

⁵ Van Every, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

mind of any unprejudiced reader of the testimony in the case of *Appleton v. The New York Life Insurance Company, et al.*:

- (1) That the girl was the victim of an operation intended to bring about an abortion.
- (2) That (if we may credit such testimony) her patron, protector, and former employer, John Anderson, admitted having been responsible for such an operation on a former occasion.
- (3) That when similar circumstances arose after she had left his employ, she appealed to him (as one of her friends and admirers best able financially to do so) to come again to her rescue.
- (4) That he gallantly responded by putting up the money and making the necessary arrangements.
- (5) That the tavern of Mrs. Loss was chosen as the scene of the projected event.
- (6) That the tall, dark man who escorted Mary to Hoboken was the abortionist employed.
- (7) That Mary died during or immediately after the operation, and that the abortionist, panic-stricken, got rid of her body.

To try to establish the identity of the man responsible for Mary's condition would indeed be futile. It is not even certain that she herself could have done so positively. The fact that Anderson paid the bill is not conclusive. Neither does the suicide of Payne by any means solve the question. The unhappy fate of the girl he loved had of course preyed on his mind, and he may have felt remorse for what he thought a sin of omission, viz., his failure to marry her when he might have done so and thus have saved her life and protected her good name. To an average, inexperienced young man the situation must have been bewildering and distracting. The note he wrote before ending his life suggests this interpretation. It is hard to believe that Mary's mother was unaware of what was happening in view of her remark when Mary did not return at once.

It remains to point out briefly how and why Poe failed to solve the mystery. Relying solely on newspaper accounts, Poe, like later investigators, accepted the elimination of Anderson from the case

and so had no chance of an explanation consistent with the facts. Poe felt compelled to brush aside Payne's suicide and the gloomy remark of Mrs. Rogers as insignificant.⁶ Both things are understood if we assume that Mary's closer associates all knew what was planned and knew the reason for her death, though not the exact details. Poe insisted that the naval man be explained, but he had an alibi. However, did not the shrewd author see something really significant in this instance? Was not Mary's association with this man a cause of doubt as to the child's paternity on the part of Mary's other friends, including the remorseful Anderson and Payne?

⁶ Professor T. O. Mabbott, who has seen a draft of this article and agrees with its conclusions, asks the writer to emphasize these two fundamental points, which Poe dismissed.

SOCIAL CRITICISM OF EUROPE IN THE FICTION OF N. P. WILLIS

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DURING HIS SHORT stay in London in 1835, Longfellow met a fellow-Portlander whose orbit, as Longfellow facetiously remarked, was “*high among the stars and garters of the fashionable zodiac.*”¹ This was Nathaniel Parker Willis, European foreign correspondent of the New York *Mirror*, then famous for his chatty letters from abroad. After a leisurely ramble through the continent of Europe and the Near East, with extended stays in France and above all in Italy, Willis had gone to England, where he remained for almost two years, returning to the United States in May, 1836. For close to five years, his news letters, later published as a book entitled *Pencillings by the Way*, fed the hunger of his countrymen for impressions of Europe; and Willis went down in history as a dashing young journalist charmed by and charming the European world of fashion—a portrait which, though partly true, must be considerably touched up when his fiction is given the consideration it deserves.

There was in Willis a good deal of the romantic pilgrim made fashionable by Irving. In Avignon, to mention only a few among numerous examples, he paid his respects to the memory of Petrarch; in Verona he thought of Romeo and Juliet; in Lucca of Caesar on the point of crossing the Rubicon.² But near the Mediterranean, Childe Harold was uppermost in his mind; in fact, the “Pencillings” from the Mediterranean countries often look as if Willis had conscientiously followed Byron’s tracks. “These romantic countries,” Willis felt, could not be separated from “the characters with which poetry or history once peopled them”; and to visit the famous spots

¹ Quoted in Lawrance Thompson, *Young Longfellow* (New York, 1938), pp. 215-216 (Longfellow’s italics).

² *Pencillings by the Way*, in *Complete Works* (New York, 1846), pp. 38, 53, 55. Unless otherwise specified, all future references will be to this one-volume edition of Willis’s collected works. *The Prose Works of N. P. Willis* (Philadelphia, 1855) is printed from the same plates, but with omission of the “Lecture on Fashion” and of the poetry. Most of my page references to the *Complete Works* of 1846 therefore also hold for the *Prose Works* of 1855.

and relive in the imagination the life they had seen was for the American a deep and real pleasure.³

In England, on the other hand, Willis's interest was predominantly in the present and in society. To be sure, as he approached London, the distant sight of the dome of St. Paul's and the spire of Westminster delighted him by their storied familiarity, but the larger part of the English "Pencilings" is concerned with fashionable life: dinner at Lord Jeffrey's, the "celebrated editor of the Edinburgh"; visits at Dalhousie and Gordon Castles, where he was impressed with the beauty and manners of the upper classes; and high life in London—above all at Lady Blessington's soirées. Such descriptions, Willis felt, were justified because they were of "the society that most interests Americans."⁴

On the basis of the "Pencilings," then, Willis seems almost to have gone Irving one better—widening the scope of Irving's reverential attitude to include not only the monuments of the past but also the living aristocratic society which Cooper had attacked and in which, according to all reports, Willis sparkled so brilliantly. But an examination of his fiction shows quite a different picture, for of twenty-five short stories which Willis laid in Europe, fourteen contain social criticism, all of which is directed against the heartlessness and snobbery of fashionable society.⁵ Again and again, the hero,

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 202. Elsewhere, too, Willis frequently expressed his admiration for the European world of fashion. See for instance his "Lecture on Fashion," in *Works*, pp. 803-810; and his articles on "Fashion and Intellect in New York" and "Society and Manners in New York," in *Hurry-Graphs; or, Sketches of Scenery, Celebrities, & Society* (London, 1851).

⁵ They are the following stories: "Leaves from the Heart-Book of Ernest Clay," "Brown's Day with the Mimpsons," "The Countess Nyschriem, and the Handsome Artist," "Miss Jones's Son," "Lady Rachel," "The Phantom-Head upon the Table," "Getting to Windward," "Lady Ravelgold," "Paletto's Bride," "Flirtation and Fox-Chasing," "The Revenge of the Signor Basil," "Beware of Dogs and Waltzing," "The Belle of the Belfry," "Love and Diplomacy." All of these stories, though originally written for periodicals, were later collected in *Dashes at Life with a Free Pencil* (1845), with which collection, says F. L. Pattee, though Willis "now and then dashed off a tale for the magazines, his short story writing really came to a close" (*Development of the American Short Story*, p. 80); see also Henry A. Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis* (Boston, 1885), p. 262. Willis's practice of reprinting old material under new titles is notorious; see for instance Lyle H. Wright, *American Fiction 1774-1850; A Contribution toward a Bibliography* (San Marino, California, 1939), pp. 211-212, which does not include, however, reprints after 1850. *Dashes at Life* was included in Willis's *Complete Works* (New York, 1846) with an arrangement in three parts and the following subtitles: *Dashes I: High Life in Europe and American Life; Dashes II: Inkings of Adventure and Loiterings of Travel; Dashes III: Ephemera*. It is on this edition that the above count is based. See n. 2 above.

one of "nature's noblemen"—often a famous wit or artist or, like Willis himself, a magazine writer—is snubbed by those who think themselves his social superiors, although in the end he usually puts their unwarranted pride to shame. The underlying assertion is always that "nature's nobility" is independent of the artificial distinctions of human society.⁶ Sometimes the theme is treated lightly, as for instance in "Miss Jones's Son"—where the snobbish Fenchers have to beat an embarrassed retreat when the man whom they have condescended to and snubbed turns out to be "the crack wit and diner-out of his time"; sometimes it is treated with more bitterness, as in "The Revenge of the Signor Basil," the story of a Russian serf risen through his own accomplishments to social position in Paris, and now in the disguise of a poor painter making love to a young and beautiful Italian marchesa. The trouble with aristocrats is, in the hero's words, that "they would buy genius . . . like wine, and throw aside the flask in which it ripened," for "the dull blood in their noble veins . . . never bred a thought beyond the instincts of their kind."⁸ And he revenges himself on the cruelly proud marchesa by totally ruining her reputation.

In his preface to the collection entitled "High Life in Europe," to which a good half of these stories belong, Willis asserts that, "drawn mostly from impressions freshly made," they were "illustrative of the distinctions of English society."

Circumstances in the career of men of genius now living, and feelings in titled and exclusive circles which the author had opportunities to study [he explains], furnished hints for the storied illustrations of the distinctions that interested him, and he has thought it worth while to present these together, as bearing upon those relations of aristocratic life which first interest republican curiosity abroad.⁹

In the short stories as in the "Pencillings," therefore, Willis's purpose

⁶ The same theme Willis also dealt with in such American stories as "Meena Dimity" and "The Cherokee's Threat," as well as in "Wigwam *versus* Almack's." In the latter two stories nature's nobility is represented by American Indians. In "Wigwam *versus* Almack's" an American girl finds herself heir to an English fortune but, after exploring fashionable London life only to be disgusted with its heartlessness, returns to the American West, preferring "the wilderness with one of nature's nobility to all the splendors of matrimony in high-life" (*Works*, p. 294). But the particular motif of the European stories—of social pride embarrassed or humbled—is here not part of the plot.

⁷ *Works*, p. 295.

⁸ *Works*, p. 450.

⁹ *Works*, p. 250. Similar assertions that his sketches and stories are written to illustrate life in foreign society recur in the prefaces.

was to report to his countrymen on the state of society in an aristocratic country. But while the "Pencilings" give a picture of the American author's smooth sailing, the stories show predominantly the dangerous shoals and cliffs which threaten the outsider, though he may weather them thanks to superior captainship.

The most bitter embodiment of this theme—as well as the most complete, since it illustrates in one person the fate of both the artist and the American in aristocratic circles—is to be found, however, in *Paul Fane* (1857), Willis's late and only novel. In the Preface to "High Life in Europe" Willis had confessed that the stories, published individually in the magazines for financial reasons, were really "fragmentary chapters" of "what should have been kept together and moulded into a proportionate work of imagination."¹⁰ And it looks very much as if in *Paul Fane* he had finally undertaken this magnum opus, for Willis's early republican curiosity—"to know how nature's nobility held its own against nobility by inheritance, and how heart and judgment were modified in their action by the thin air at the summit of refinement"¹¹—is equally intense in *Paul Fane*, the hero of the novel. This young American painter goes to Europe not only to study art at its source but also "to know his relative rank of nature," to "measure himself by his own jealous standard, with those whom he should find first in the world's most established appreciation," and "to look close upon the world's finer or prouder clay, and know wherein it differed from himself and those he loved"—a feverish desire born of a slight which he had felt at the hands of Mildred Ashly, a proud English girl of noble family.¹² His career in Italy and England, artistically successful, is hampered socially by his constant fear of "mortification by rebuff," which makes him lay down the rule upon first landing in Europe "that he would ask an introduction to no one."¹³ Thus

¹⁰ *Works*, p. 250.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Paul Fane; or, Parts of a Life Else Untold. A Novel* (New York, 1857), pp. 20, 48.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 151. The general situation of the novel—the life of an American artist first in Florentine society, then in England, and the fact that he finds his entry into fashionable society facilitated by being nominally attached to the American legation in Paris—is autobiographical. Even that Fane is a painter and sculptor has a parallel in Willis's own life: in Rome he had "felt half inclined, for a moment, to exchange his dilettantish pursuit of letters for an equally dilettantish pursuit of art" (Beers, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121). But unlike Fane, Willis had no compunction about using letters of introduction. Was Fane's strict resolution possibly due to some unpleasant lesson which his author had learnt? Cf. n. 28 below.

must the republican artist constantly shelter his sensitive pride. But in the end nature's nobility achieves its due triumph: when not only Mildred, but another of the proud Ashlys as well, is in the dust before him, suing for his love, he refuses them both and returns to America, disgusted with the success he owes to noble patronage and sure of being happier in "American liberty."

Although Paul Fane and Willis are of course not to be rashly identified, the novel no doubt reflects one facet of Willis's reaction to his experience among the upper classes of Europe—recollected years later, if not exactly in tranquillity. As Beers points out, in certain moods Willis was capable of revulsion from fashionable dissipation; a letter which he wrote to his fiancée in 1835 clearly expresses this:

Mine is not a love such as I have fancied and written about. It is more sober. . . . It had well need be, indeed, for I have taken it in lieu of what has hitherto been the principal occupation of my life. . . . I have lived the last ten years in gay society, and I am sick at heart of it. . . . I am made for something better, and I feel sincerely that this is the turning-point of both mind and heart, both of which are injured in their best qualities with the kind of life I have been leading.¹⁴

Under the constant association with men of rank and wealth, Paul Fane more poignantly feels a "heart-sinking sense of vagrancy" steal upon him:

To be everywhere the stranger—only recognized as passing, and with no value on which, at will, to stop, and within which to entrench privacy, strengthen resources and suffice for oneself—this seemed to him the phantom of dread with which low spirits, for a traveller so nameless as himself, stood ever ominously prepared. There could be no smoother sailing, it was true, than he had everywhere found it, and all, at present, seemed a summer sea—but he must have chart and compass for voyage and venture of his own, if need were, or he was adrift upon European society as upon a plank in mid-ocean.¹⁵

Of such anxiety the "Pencilings" naturally do not speak. Written as they were to satisfy an American craving for news and gossip of the European world of fashion, they describe the glittering surface of Willis's experience—the town and country houses in which

¹⁴ Quoted in Beers, *op. cit.*, p. 177; see also pp. 168-169.

¹⁵ *Paul Fane*, pp. 164-165.

he had found welcome. The exultation over his first success in London speaks from a letter written on his third day there:

What a star is mine! All the best society of London exclusives is now open to me—*me!* a sometime apprentice at setting types—*me!* without a sou in the world beyond what my pen brings me. . . . Thank heaven, there is not a countryman of mine, except Washington Irving, who has even the standing in England which I have got in *three days* only.¹⁶

Thus, after he had made his first call on Lady Blessington and had met the Count D'Orsay, Bulwer-Lytton, and other notables. But during the subsequent months in England he was often skating on thin ice, dependent as he was for his livelihood on his work for the magazines, and one of his letters indicates that he thought it wise to hide his financial situation from all save his most intimate friends.¹⁷ Years later he was to protest against the condescending patronage of the wealthy and noble, describing the position of a literary man in any English circle socially above his own as that of a jackal:

He is invited [Willis wrote] for what he contributes to the entertainment of the aristocratic lions and lionesses who feed him. He has neither power nor privilege in their sphere. He dare not introduce a friend, except as another jackall [*sic*], and it would be for very extraordinary reasons that he would ever name at the tables where he is most intimate, his father or mother, wife, sister or brother.¹⁸

In accepting the patronage of a nobleman, Willis felt, the literary man was never allowed to forget his social inferiority; he remained always a parasite and hence "always a believer of God's mark of greatness, the nobility of mind."¹⁹ What went for the literary man, moreover, in a sense went for the American, who, having been intimate with Englishmen on the Continent, was likely to find that in England their attitude toward him was changed, that in deference to their strong sense of class again and again they gave him the cold shoulder and thus made his life "one of inevitable and daily eclipse

¹⁶ Quoted in Beers, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-140 (Willis's italics).

¹⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 162; cf. pp. 123, 160.

¹⁸ *Ephemera*, in *Works*, p. 612. Beers's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 276) that it was not until 1854 that *Ephemera* was added to *Dashes at Life* is incorrect, for it was included in an 1845 edition of *Dashes*. Whether it is identical with the single volume of *Ephemera* of 1854 which Beers (p. 355) lists as a first edition, I have not been able to check.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 594-595.

and mortification." Against such "*homage to anything human with which it never can compete*," Willis absolutely concluded, "*a republican spirit must rebel*"; it was in this that an American aristocracy of worth would have to differ from the English aristocracy of birth.²⁰

While in his journalistic writings such criticism is amply balanced by expressions of his admiration for the fashionable and noble society of Europe,²¹ rebellion against social tyranny is the burden of a major part of Willis's European fiction. Paul Fane, too, has the unpleasant experience of finding Englishmen at home cooler than they are abroad. But the main reason for his final return to America is his awareness that his success as artist has been due, not to the independent judgment of those who admire his work, not really to its artistic merit, but to the social influence of his friends: "You are looked at through the eyes of your grand acquaintances, by all whom those acquaintances look down upon," he explains to his mother. "They think by classes. They believe in you by recommendation of higher authority than their own judgment."²² And he decides to return home because he is convinced that there his work will be looked at "*through one pair of eyes at a time*," for it seems to him that

the liberty to rise, or the liberty to fall, and, at any level, to be judged of by the simple individual opinion, without class condescension, class servility, or class prejudice, [is] American only. *The hell of social life, and of all life, is social position*—I am fully persuaded—and, in England, an artist, at least, can have nothing else.²³

Thus did Willis, some ten years after his last visit to Europe, repeat the criticism contained in his early short stories. And the persistent strain shows that his position with regard to European society was much closer to that of Cooper than his almost Irvingesque travel letters would suggest.²⁴ But his attack was not clear-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 612-613 (Willis's italics).

²¹ To cite only one example: "The finest race in the eastern hemisphere—the most gallant and manly in its men, and the most beautiful and high-born looking in its women—is the fashionable aristocracy of England" ("Lecture on Fashion," *Works*, p. 803).

²² *Paul Fane*, p. 396.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 398 (Willis's italics).

²⁴ When Willis's fiction is considered, R. E. Spiller's contrast between "the scarcely qualified reverence of Irving and Willis" and "the morose and powerful attack of Cooper on England" (*The American in England*, New York, 1926, p. 392) cannot be maintained.

cut and frontal like Cooper's. Thackeray, in commenting on *Dashes at Life*, expressed ironic surprise at finding that the outstanding characteristic of high English society should be "admiration of literary talent," that "the ladies [should] not care for rank, or marry for wealth," that they should "only worship genius!"²⁵ And in speaking of these queer "delusions," he laid his finger on something which amounts almost to an obsession in Willis's stories of high life: not only is it almost always the women who make love to the men, as Beers has pointed out,²⁶ but as Thackeray said, it is usually the Vizier's daughter, "the woe-worn creature who is always at Alnaschar's feet, and he (in his vision) who is kicking her."²⁷ In plain words: again and again "nature's nobleman" is given a chance to spurn the lady's love in order to re-establish nature's true scale of values after social prejudice has upset it. The striking repetition of this one motif as a vehicle of social criticism points to an important difference between Willis and Cooper. The writings of both combine the expression of admiration for the elegancies of European high life and of repugnance for the caste system; but inextricably entangled as they are in Willis, the two strains seem to have been spontaneous reactions to two kinds of emotional experience, rather than, as in Cooper, integral parts of a formulated social theory.²⁸ Particularly in the short stories, Willis's view oscillates so

²⁵ *Edinburgh Review*, LXXXII, 472 (Oct., 1845).

²⁶ P. 252.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.* In a letter about this review Thackeray comments on the autobiographical truth of these stories: "I am told by men who know him here: that some of the adventures did *almost* happen. Some old women did actually fall in love with him: he positively made a great *fureur* once in a certain English society and he has now garbled his amours and republished them. . . . The stories have a sort of truth, a pennyworth say to an intolerable deal of fiction" (*The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray*, ed. Gordon N. Ray, Cambridge, Mass., 1945, II, 214). In a later review of Willis's *People I Have Met* Thackeray again pokes fun at "Willis the Conqueror": "We live in our country and don't know it: Willis walks into it and dominates it at once. . . . He must have whole mattresses stuffed with the blonde, or raven, or auburn memories of England's fairest daughters" (*Punch*, XIX, 7, June 29, 1850, reprinted in *Works*, London, 1904, XVII, 180).

²⁸ The question whether Willis had a chip on his shoulder—whether Paul Fane's hypersensitive pride and his sense of the falseness of his position in English society, for instance, are reflections of something Willis himself may have felt at times in the midst of all his social successes—arises inevitably. Beers mentions that "few of the people whom he met in society . . . dreamed for an instant that the dashing young *attaché* was dependent for his bread and butter on weekly letters to a newspaper" (p. 123). Could it be that, among the few who did suspect, there were some snobbish and unkind enough to feel and show contempt? Neither Beers nor Kenneth L. Daugherty in his unpublished dissertation on "The Life and Work of Nathaniel Parker Willis, 1806-1836" (University of Virginia,

much that two opposed lessons can be derived from them: that socially prejudiced European society will not respect individual worth and, on the other hand, that the true "nobleman of nature" may even there achieve the recognition due to him.

After what has been said, Willis's treatment of Europe might seem to form an exception to the preoccupation with the lingering past so common in the contemporaneous American fiction which dealt with Europe.²⁹ And yet, even if Willis did not share Irving's detailed concern, for instance, with historical and cultural monuments, his interest in European life was clearly limited to something which—from the American point of view, though not from it alone—was in the process of passing. If he proclaimed that "no pictures of society since the world began, are half so entertaining to me as those of English society in our day,"³⁰ English reviewers were quick to point out the naïve partiality of his picture and of his American interest in rank and title.³¹ What Willis, like so many

1935) gives an answer to such a question, although the latter does note the particular social motif in Willis's European fiction. As is well known, Willis was attacked for his indiscretion in reporting "unrestrained table-talk on delicate subjects, . . . capable of compromising individuals"—as Lockhart put it in his review of the "Pencilings" in the *Quarterly Review*, LIV, 469 (Sept., 1835). See also R. R. Madden, *The Literary Life and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington* (New York, 1855), II, 330-331; Beers, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-197; and Willis's own answer to Lockhart's attack in his preface to *Pencilings*. Captain Marryat's notice of the "Pencilings," moreover, almost led to a duel between him and Willis (see Beers, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-205). Harriet Martineau, too, censured Willis's officiousness more acridly than justly (see her *Autobiography*, ed. M. W. Chapman, Boston, 1881, I, 384-386). But Kenneth L. Daugherty reports in *DAB* that no such attacks caused Willis the loss of any of his "personal friends or rights of entry" (XX, 307). And I have not been able to find any indication to the contrary except the doubtful suggestion of a temporary interruption of their intimacy contained in one of Willis's letters to Lady Blessington, dated from Dublin 25 January 1845: ". . . while I have no more treasured leaf in my memory than the brilliant and happy hours I passed in Seamore Place, I have, I assure you, no deeper regret than that my indiscretion (in Pencilings [*sic*]) should have checked the freedom of my approach to you" (quoted in Madden, *op. cit.*, II, 336). For Thackeray's comment on the relation between fiction and fact in Willis's European stories, see n. 27 above. Most recent writings on Willis emphasize the success which he doubtless made in English society (see Beers, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 ff.; Spiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-379, *passim*; *CHAL*, I, 242-243) and which is testified to by some of his contemporaries (see Madden, *op. cit.*, II, 329; and A. G. L'Estrange, ed., *The Friendships of Mary Russell Mitford*, London, 1882, I, 265). Without more material on Willis's life than Beers and Daugherty have made available, therefore, the answer to the question here raised must remain speculation.

²⁹ Cf. the writer's article on "Europe in Hawthorne's Fiction," *ELH*, XIV, 219-245 (Sept., 1947).

³⁰ Preface to *Dashes at Life*, Part II, in *Works*, p. 360.

³¹ See *Edinburgh Review*, LXII, 356 (Jan., 1836); *Quarterly Review*, LIV, 461 (Sept., 1835); *Monthly Review*, CXXXIX, 13 (Jan., 1836); *Dublin University Magazine*, VII, 315 (March, 1836). Also Thackeray's humorous account of his trip to the North during the

other Americans, portrayed was not representative of the whole reality of contemporaneous Europe. That there was poverty, for instance, the "Pencillings" overlooked;³² and that snobbish aristocrats were not to be identified with England as such, that English liberals might denounce aristocratic prerogatives more unequivocally than did the republican magazine writer—of this Willis's stories give no hint. After all, he had at first approached Europe like a second Irving; the "Pencillings" had opened with a rhapsody on "the *cultivated* picturesqueness of an old country," on "battlemented buildings of the small [French] villages," on "worm-eaten history, . . . constantly occurring ruins," and above all on "the presence of all that we have seen in pictures and read of in books, but consider as the representations and descriptions of ages gone by"³³—an Irvingesque phrase if ever there was one. Originally, his primary interest had been not in the active Europe of his own day but in the literary and historical associations which the European scene brought to life in his mind. And when he came to associate with fashionable society, he found its fascination—despite all social injustice—similar to that of the romantic memories of the past. Well might he insist that no age interested him like the present; he nevertheless betrayed his American point of view in the same breath: Americans, he added, looked upon Victorian England with the same feelings as they looked upon Elizabethan England, for the Atlantic was to them "like the distance of time."³⁴ But if the "Pencillings"—with their delight in literary and historical associations and with their appreciation of the amenities of an old society—represent one form which the American preoccupation with the lingering European past could take, its critical counterpart—revolt against the social dead hand of the past—predominates in Willis's European fiction.

General Election of 1841, which combines political satire with a burlesque of the "Pencillings," in particular of Willis's descriptions of the life of English country gentlemen (see "Notes on the North What-D'Ye-Call'em Election. Being the Personal Narrative of Napoleon Putnam Wiggins, of Passimaquoddy," *Fraser's Magazine*, XXIV, 352-358, 413-427, Sept., Oct., 1841—a piece of good-humored mockery in strong contrast with an earlier irate review of the "Pencillings" in the same magazine, XIII, 195-203, Feb., 1836).

³² "Would that the Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners on the state of Kent could but confirm this flattering picture" was one reviewer's comment on Willis's remark in the "Pencillings" that he saw no poverty on English roads. See *Edinburgh Review*, LXII, 356 (Jan., 1836).

³³ *Works*, p. 5 (Willis's italics).

³⁴ *Works*, p. 360.

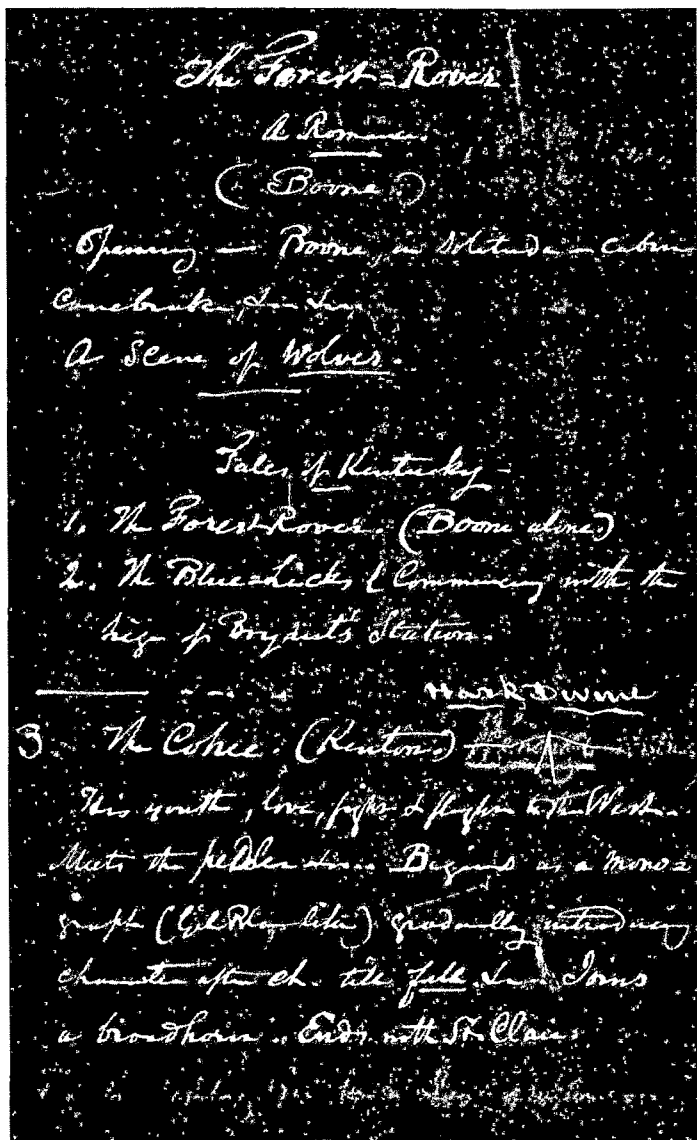


FIG. 1. Reproduced in reduced facsimile by courtesy of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. The last line reads: "4. The Fighting Quaker—Last of the Series."

The Miami.

4. Jebi (Dead man) Wa-nain (who)
 Chemi-quagort (fighter) Chepino-suit
 (walker) --

Jibbansinosa.

Jibbansinosa, -- The Dead Man
 who walks --

Nathan March -- a quaker --
 He is the most perfectly odious with the Indians
 because he will not join them in their Indian
 fights, ^{especially as he is so good a fighter} as he is so good a fighter.
 He always says he will interfere for
 he loves all such things to their own lights and
 they ridicule him, insult him. He takes his good
 to pay for his peevishness, then he comes to his
 true fighting performance for 2 seasons -- on ac-
 count of his aged father -- and 2nd because he thinks
 the Indians ^{quicker} respect his father's house -- But it is his
 own vigilance which protects the house for all
 the time, however, he is the terror of the Indians and
 the Jibbansinosa.

FIG. 3. An early jotting for the central character in *Nick of the Woods*. Reproduced in reduced facsimile by courtesy of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE SOURCE OF AHAB'S LORDSHIP OVER THE LEVEL LOADSTONE

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ACCORDING to the ledgers of the New York Society Library, a certificate of membership was delivered on April 24, 1850, to Herman Melville.¹ Five days later he borrowed "Arctic Regions 1.2" [*An Account of the Arctic Regions*, two volumes] and "N Whale Fishery" [*Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale-Fishery*], both by William Scoresby, Jr.² These volumes Melville kept throughout most of the period of his composition of *Moby-Dick*, certainly until the Whale was, according to his testimony, "in his flurry."³ He returned them June 14, 1851.

Melville's use of Scoresby's *Account of the Arctic Regions* as source material for *Moby-Dick* has been carefully studied.⁴ It is the purpose of this article to indicate an important indebtedness in *Moby-Dick* to *Journal of a Voyage*.⁵

¹ This information and a photostat of the ledger entries are by courtesy of Miss Marjorie Watkins, Curator of Rare Books, New York Society Library.

² *An Account of the Arctic Regions, with a History and Description of the Northern Whale-Fishery*. By W. Scoresby, Jun. . . . In Two Volumes (Edinburgh and London, 1820); and *Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale-Fishery; including Researches and Discoveries on the Eastern Coast of West Greenland, made in the Summer of 1822, in the Ship Baffin of Liverpool*. By William Scoresby, Junior. (Edinburgh and London, 1823). I shall use *Journal of a Voyage* in all further references to the latter title.

³ See letter to Nathaniel Hawthorne, June [?], 1851, in Willard Thorp, ed., *Herman Melville: Representative Selections* (New York, 1938), p. 391.

⁴ F. B. Adams, Jr., "The Crow's Nest," *Colophon*, n.s. II, No. 1, 148-154 (Autumn, 1936), called attention to Melville's use of *Account of the Arctic Regions* in the humorous discussion of Captain Sleet's crow's nest in chap. xxxv of *Moby-Dick*. Wilbur S. Scott, Jr., in an unpublished dissertation, "Melville's Originality: A Study of Some of the Sources of *Moby-Dick*," Princeton University, 1943, devoted his initial chapter to Melville's indebtedness to *Account of the Arctic Regions*.

⁵ There are a number of minor parallelisms between the two books which are provocative: (a) In the Introduction of *Journal of a Voyage* there is a discussion of lost Icelandic colonies in Greenland which may have suggested Melville's mock-title for Captain Sleet's narrative, *A Voyage among the Icebergs, in quest of the Greenland Whale, and incidentally for the re-discovery of the Lost Icelandic Colonies of Old Greenland* (*Moby-Dick*, I, 195). All references are to the Constable edition (London, 1922). (b) Scoresby's description of the coloring of the narwhal (pp. 132-133) is very similar in phraseology to Melville's (*Moby-Dick*, I, 175-176). (c) Although Scott, *op. cit.*, believes that Melville's acceptance of Scoresby's estimate of seventy tons for the largest Greenland whale of sixty feet in length

Scoresby's *Journal of a Voyage* contains 472 pages. The Introduction states the purpose of the voyage as being the "prosecution of the Whale-Fishery on the coasts of Greenland and Spitzbergen"; subordinate objects were discovery, hydrographic study, and a search for remains of lost Icelandic colonies. The text of 396 pages is a daily journal of the voyage of the ship *Baffin* in the year 1822, but the narrative is frequently interrupted by learned discussions of magnetism, deviation of the compass, errors in nautical charts, optical effects of the phenomena of unequal refraction, the anatomical structure of right whales and narwhals, the cause of the suspension of clouds, and other scientific topics. There are nine appendices in *Journal of a Voyage*: lists of Greenland rocks, plants, and animals; meteorological and hydrographic tables; Sir Charles Giesecke's "Remarks on the Structure of Greenland . . ."; explanations of technical terms; and extracts from the journals of the ships *Hercules* of Aberdeen and *Trafalgar* of Hull.

When Melville was writing the chapters of *Moby-Dick* which concern the Typhoon and its aftermath, he must have had the New York Society Library copy of *Journal of a Voyage* near at hand. And when, in Chapter cxxiv, "The Needle," he told how Ahab discovered that the compass needle had become transpointed, and, to the amazement of the crew of the *Pequod*, improvised a satisfactory loadstone, Melville undoubtedly referred to the latter part of Scoresby's Chapter II.

Here Scoresby described "experiments on an original mode of developing magnetism in steel, the application of which might occasionally prove of considerable importance at sea."⁶ "This fundamental process," he said, "is the elicitation of magnetic energy by percussion."⁷ After a careful discussion of the technique of his experiment, Scoresby pointed out its utility in the improvisation of compasses on ships the polarity of whose loadstones had been

(*Moby-Dick*, II, 216) is based on *Account of the Arctic Regions* (I, 416), there is an equal likelihood that he used *Journal of a Voyage* (p. 176). (d) Finally, there is a possible though tenuous relationship between the death of Scoresby's harpooner, William Carr, taken out of a boat by a line (pp. 123 ff.), and that of Fedallah or Ahab. There were, however, too many actual accidents of this nature in the period of Melville's whaling experience to require his dependence upon a printed source. See, for example, Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery from its earliest inception to the Year 1876* (Waltham, Mass., 1876), *passim*.

⁶ *Journal of a Voyage*, p. 52.

⁷ *Ibid.*

reversed or destroyed in storms by strokes of lightning.⁸ Shipwrecked crews in open boats without compasses could, he said, "give polarity to the blade of a penknife, or the limb of a pair of scissors, or even to an iron nail, which would probably be sufficient, when suspended by a thread, to guide them in their perilous navigation."⁹

Melville was indebted, I believe, to Scoresby's *Journal of a Voyage* for the idea of having the lightning of the Typhoon reverse the polarity of the *Pequod's* compasses and for the dramatic solution of Ahab's navigational difficulties. The following parallel passages reveal significant similarities of idea and phraseology:

MOBY-DICK

"I have it! It has happened before. Mr. Starbuck, last night's thunder turned our compasses—that's all. Thou hast before now heard of such a thing, I take it." (II, 295)

Here, it must needs be said, that accidents like this have in more than one case occurred to ships in violent storms. . . . In instances where the lightning has actually struck the vessel, so as to smite down some of the spars and rigging, the effect upon the needle has at times been still more fatal; all its loadstone virtue being annihilated,

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There are instances on record, of the compasses of ships being spoiled by lightning*:- (p. 55)

* In the Philosophical Transactions (vol. xi. p. 647.), is an account of a stroke of lightning received on a vessel in the parallel of Bermudas, which carried away the fore-mast, split some of the sails, and damaged the rigging; and, in addition to these extraordinary effects, it inverted the polarity of the compass, so that the north point became directed toward the south. This induced the navigators, who

⁸ There was, of course, nothing new about giving polarity to needles and improvising compasses. Benjamin Franklin on July 27, 1750, wrote Peter Collinson: "By electricity [Leyden jars] we have (here at Philadelphia) frequently given polarity to needles, and reversed it at pleasure" (Jared Sparks, ed., *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, Boston, 1837, V, 224). There is a curious absence, however, of directions for improvising artificial compasses in most of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century texts of navigation, including Bowditch and Hamilton Moore, mentioned by Melville in *Mardi* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1864, I, 15), and Maury, a copy of whose text was in the library of the frigate *United States* when Melville was aboard. Two exceptions are J. Robertson, *The Elements of Navigation* (fifth ed.; London, 1786), II, 233-235; and Thomas Arnold, *The American Practical Lunarian, and Seamen's Guide* (Philadelphia, 1822), p. 138. The former described an elaborate method which required the use of a poker, tongs, six bars of soft steel, and four bars of soft iron to make artificial magnets, and a stroking process in which two needles and magnetic hard bars were used. Arnold suggested rubbing a needle strongly from the middle toward the point with the back of a knife.

⁹ *Journal of a Voyage*, p. 56.

so that the before magnetic steel was of no more use than an old wife's knitting needle. But in either case, the needle never again, of itself, recovers the original virtue thus marred or lost; and if the binnacle compasses be affected, the same fate reaches all the others that may be in the ship; even were the lowermost one inserted into the kelson. (II, 295-296)

MOBY-DICK

"Mr. Starbuck—a lance without the pole; a top-maul, and the smallest of the sail-maker's needles. Quick!" (II, 296)

With a blow from the top-maul Ahab knocked off the steel head of the lance, and then handing to the mate the long iron rod remaining, bade him hold it upright, without its touching the deck. Then, with the maul, after repeatedly smiting the upper end of this iron rod, he placed the blunted needle endwise on top of it, and less strongly hammered that, several times, the mate still holding the rod as before. . . .

were not aware of the change, to steer back again, supposing that the wind had shifted. . . . The ship Dover, on its way from New-York to London, was struck by lightning during a fierce storm. . . . On receiving the shock, . . . the mainmast was almost perforated,—the upper and lower decks and quick works were stove, . . . and, among several other singular circumstances, the magnetism of all the compasses (four in number) was destroyed, or the poles inverted. (p. 55n.)¹⁰

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This process would enable the navigator to restore sufficient polarity for the guidance of his ship, in a few seconds. (p. 56)

The first step in the process is to hammer an iron or steel poker, or other rod of similar metal, of considerable size, while held in a vertical position, . . . by a few smart blows on the end; this will render the rod or poker sensibly magnetic. If a soft steel bar be now placed on the top of the poker, and hammered on the upper end, while both the poker and the bar are held vertically, . . . it immediately ac-

¹⁰ It is tempting to suggest that Melville, having read Scoresby's footnote, went a step further and examined the issues of *Philosophical Transactions* to which Scoresby referred. Here he would have found potential source material for the composant scene in chap. cxix of *Moby-Dick*: "On Jan. 9, 1748-9, the new ship Dover . . . being then in lat. 47° 30' north, and longitude 22° 15' west, from London, met with a very hard storm of wind, attended with thunder and lightning . . . and sundry large comazants [*sic*], as they are called, overhead, some of which settled on the spindles at the top-mast heads, which burnt like very large torches . . ." ("On the Effects of Lightning in Destroying the Polarity of a Mariner's Compass," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society . . . Abridged . . . From 1744 to 1749*, London, 1809, IX, 652). For all its alluring plausibility, however, there is no external evidence to support the theory that Melville read this article.

[Ahab] called for linen thread; and moving to the binnacle, slipped out the two reversed needles there, and horizontally suspended the sail-needle by its middle, over one of the compass-cards. (II, 297)

quires a considerable attractive force, the upper end becoming a south pole, and the lower end a north pole. (pp. 52-53)

A piece of knitting needle, . . . which was proved to be without any magnetic virtue whatever before the experiment, . . . lifted a nail of 54 grains, or very nearly twice its own weight! (p. 53)

The case for the artistic use of source-material by a man-of-letters is seldom so convincing as in this instance. Melville has transmuted into fictional form the objective account of a scientific experiment, made it an integral part of his narrative, and invested it with considerable dramatic significance. His monomaniac protagonist performs the experiment, and the doubting assistant is the *Pequod's* first mate. Even the implements of a whaling-ship become the materials with which Ahab maintains his lordship over the level loadstone and calms the mounting superstition of his crew.

The learned Captain William Scoresby, Junior, would hardly have been satisfied with an easy acceptance of the accuracy of an improvised compass. Doubtless he would have climbed into his crow's-nest and gone through elaborate scientific tests to determine the new loadstone's precise deviation on various ship's headings. Ahab, however, was content. The sun was east, and the compass swore it. The crew of the *Pequod* peered into the binnacle for confirmation of his declared navigational miracle, "and one after another they slunk away."

"In his fiery eyes of scorn and triumph, you then saw Ahab in all his fatal pride."

NOTES ON CRÈVECOEUR

PERCY G. ADAMS

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IN HIS LAST WORK, *Le Voyage dans la haute Pensylvanie et dans l'état de New York*, in addition to the great mass of fact and fiction that is his own, Crèvecoeur inserted a number of chapters that are reworkings of parts of other books and then attributed

the chapters to authorities other than the real ones.¹ Two examples of this unique method of covering up his tracks are to be found in his description of southern Indian mounds and in his account of Colonel Bouquet's expedition of 1764.

I

In the third volume of the three-volume work is a paper describing the Indian mounds of Georgia and Florida. This paper, the author said, was given him by a Mr. B***, "élu membre du Congrès des la naissance du nouveau Gouvernement, et depuis quatre ans, sénateur des États-Unis."² As Consul from France to New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, Crèvecoeur, in 1789, twelve years before the *Voyage* was published, had written a letter to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld in which he gave an account of a number of ancient works uncovered near Nashville. His source of information, as he told in the letter, was "Monsieur Brown, delegate in Congress for the county of Kentucky."³ One's natural impulse is to assume, with the chief biographer and critic of Crèvecoeur,⁴ that John Brown of Danville and Frankfort, student and friend of Crèvecoeur's friend and correspondent, Thomas Jefferson, was not only the source for the 1789 report on antiquities at Nashville but also for the paper in the *Voyage* on the ruins of Florida and Georgia. But Senator B*** "habite la Georgie depuis trente ans," and such a statement does not fit Mr. Brown. Though it does fit Abraham Baldwin, senator and noted educator, Crèvecoeur's real source was William Bartram's *Travels*, from which he gleaned the facts to rewrite in his own words.⁵

This perverse system has caused much confusion. In the first volume of the *Voyage*, the American Farmer included a chapter made up of sections from Gilbert Imlay's *Topographical Description of North America* and claimed that his essay was a speech made by Benjamin Franklin at the ceremonies which opened Franklin and Marshall College in 1787. The biographers of Franklin long accepted the fiction. Cf. Percy G. Adams, "Crèvecoeur and Franklin," *Pennsylvania History*, XIV, 273-280 (Oct., 1947).

² Hector Saint-John de Crèvecoeur, *Le Voyage dans la haute Pensylvanie et dans l'état de New York* (Paris, 1801), III, 184.

³ A copy of the letter is reproduced in English in *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, III, 184 (1923).

⁴ Howard C. Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain* (Paris, 1933), p. 138.

⁵ William Bartram's *Travels* was translated into French in 1799—two years before Crèvecoeur's *Voyage* was published—by Benoist as *Voyage dans les parties sud de l'Amérique septentrionale*. Crèvecoeur quoted from the translation, which was used in the preparation of the present paper, four times in the *Voyage* when he wanted to describe certain phenomena of nature. Curiously enough, Crèvecoeur, who had known the elder Bartram in America, was under the illusion that John, and not his son William, was the author, for all the quotations are said to be from "John Bartram" (cf., e.g., *Voyage*, II, 314).

The paper ascribed to Senator B*** begins with a number of observations and reflections that can be traced to Bartram, as one or two examples will show:

CRÈVECOEUR

il est hors de doute que cette partie du continent a dû être habitée par une nation, ou par la réunion de plusieurs grandes tribus qui parloient la même langue, et qui avoient les mêmes opinions religieuses. (III, 187)

Nous savons, par la tradition des Chérokées, qu' à l'époque de l'arrivée de leurs ancêtres, venus des montagnes du Mexique, ces grands ouvrages existoient tels à-peu-près qu'on les voit aujourd'hui, et que les plus anciens, parmi les Savannucas vaincus, ignoroient quand et par qui ils avoient été élevés. (III, 187)

BARTRAM

. . . toute la région était habitée par une seule nation ou confédération, que gouvernait le même système de loix, de mœurs et de langage. (II, 421)

Les Chérokées eux-mêmes ne savent pas plus que nous, par quel peuple ou pour quel objet ont été élevées ces hauteurs artificielles. On fait, à cet égard, divers récits qui ne sont que des conjectures et ne nous apprennent rien; mais une tradition commune aux Chérokées et à toutes les autres peuplades Indiennes, prétend que ces monumens furent trouvés dans le même état où nous les voyons, lorsque leurs ancêtres, arrivant de l'Occident, s'emparèrent du pays après avoir vaincu les nations d'hommes rouges qui l'habitaient alors. Celles-ci disaient les avoir trouvés pareillement lorsqu'elles s'y étaient établies, et avaient reçu des propriétaires antérieurs une tradition semblable. (II, 169)

The last five pages of the treatise give information on works near the Little, Ocmulgee, and Keowe rivers. It is not necessary to point out all the passages in Bartram which Crèvecoeur reworked, sometimes getting his data confused.⁶ One quotation will suffice to show his methods. The following lines describe the works near Dartmouth, Georgia:

⁶ As when he placed the ruins at Cullsaté (Bartram's Kulsage) six miles from Fort Dartmouth (he meant Fort James at Dartmouth) when they were, according to Bartram, six miles from Fort Prince George Keowe (cf. Bartram, II, 112-113, and the *Voyage*, III,

CRÈVECOEUR

Le premier objet qui frappe les yeux du voyageur est une pyramide circulaire dont la base a mille pieds ou environ de circonférence, dont la hauteur est de 70 pieds, autant que j'ai pu en juger sans le secours d'instrumens, de dont le sommet est couronné de cèdres. On y monte par un sentier en spirale, sur lequel, à des hauteurs différentes et en regard des quatre points cardinaux, on trouve quatre niches. Du haut de cette pyramide on découvre plusieurs autres élévations moins considérable. Les unes sont carrées, les autres en forme de parallélogrammes; quelques-unes ont 200 pieds de long, de depuis 5 jusqu' à 12 pieds de hauteur. Mais ce qui paroît encore plus étonnant, est une chaussée de plus de 3 milles de longueur, que les eaux de la rivière ne surmontent jamais, quoiqu'elles baignent le pied de la pyramide dans les fréquentes inondations. Comment cet ancien peuple se défendoit-il contre ces débordemens, qui ont lieu trois ou quatre fois dans certaines années, avant d'avoir élevé cette chaussée au-dessus de leur niveau? Par quel motif a-t-il construit cette pyramide? Si c'étoit pour se mettre à l'abri des eaux, où étoit la nécessité de lui donner une si grande hauteur? Ces vastes terrasses et la chaussée n'étoient-elles pas suffisantes? et d'ailleurs pourquoi ce peuple avoit-il choisi un lieu aussi bas? (III, 192-193)

BARTRAM

Ils consistent en élévations de terres de forme conique, terrasses carrées, etc. La plus grande de ces pyramides a environ quarante ou cinquante pieds de haut, et sa base a de cent à cent cinquante toises de circonférence. Elle est, en entier, composée de bonne terre végétale prise dans les terrains bas. Son extrémité supérieure est une plateforme. On voit encore les restes d'un sentier en spirale, qui conduisait de la base au sommet, où végète encore un beau grand Cèdre rouge, *Juniperus Americana*; quatre niches, pratiquées à différentes hauteurs, regardent les quatres points cardinaux. On y entre du chemin tournant, et elles paraissent avoir été faites pour servir de repos ou de vigie. Les terres basses environnantes ont été défrichées et sont aujourd'hui plantées en maïs. Le propriétaire de ce terrain, qui nous accompagna sur les lieux, nous dit, je crois, que la pyramide elle-même rendait plus de cent boisseaux par récolte. Le sol, tout auteur, paraît en effet très-fertile.

Nous ignorons absolument ce qui a pu engager les Indiens à élever une pareille pyramide en cet endroit. Le terrain, dans un grand espace à la ronde, est sujet à être inondé, au moins une fois l'an; ce qui donne lieu de croire qu'ils ne pouvaient avoir là ni ville ni habitation fixe. Quelques personnes ont pensé que ces élévations étaient destinées à former des lieux d'obser-

vation. On ne peut douter qu'ils n'eussent pour but quelque objet d'une utilité alors reconnue; car c'étaient des travaux publics. Vu l'état où nous pouvons supposer qu'étaient, au temps de ces constructions, les peuples qui les firent, il a fallu, pour achever une de ces pyramides, le concours et les efforts de toute une nation, peut-être pendant un siècle. Autour de ce grand cône, en sont plusieurs d'une moindre proportion, ainsi que de grandes terrasses carrées, qui ont près de cinquante toises de long, et dont la surface est élevée de quatre, six, huit, ou dix pieds au-dessus de niveau commun.

On peut hasarder, comme une conjecture, la supposition suivante. Il y a, en général, dans ces contrées basses, immédiatement le long du bord de la rivière, une espèce de chaussée plus élevée de huit ou dix pieds, que les terres qui s'étendent, à partir de ce rivage, jusqu'aux coteaux. Ces dernières, lorsque la rivière surmonte ses bords, sont couvertes de plusieurs pieds d'eau, tandis qu'alors la chaussée qui borde le courant reste sèche, et semble comme un île au milieu des eaux répandues. Il est possible que les anciens habitans aient eu sur cette chaussée un village, et aient construit cette montagne factice pour servir d'asile, dans le cas d'une subite inondation, telle qu'il est arrivé souvent au printemps et en automne. (II, 101-103)

II

Also for the third volume of his *Voyage*, Crèvecoeur claimed to have persuaded a certain Frederick Hazen, former aide-de-camp to Colonel Bouquet, to give him a long account of the famous Bouquet expedition into the Ohio country during 1763-1765, "dont," Crèvecoeur wrote, "le docteur Smith, alors président de l'université de Philadelphia, publia plusieurs morceaux que je n'ai jamais pu trouver chez les Librairies."⁷ But Crèvecoeur had seen Dr. Smith's history, having reproduced in his 1787 *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain* a map from that very book.⁸ Furthermore, a search in the *Pennsylvania Archives* reveals that no one named Hazen served under Bouquet.⁹ Finally a comparison of the two versions shows that Hazen's narrative is a reworking of Smith's history.

There is no need of quoting passages to show the manner in which the source was used in Hazen's account, for Smith was rewritten just as William Bartram was. The first few pages of the two histories are quite alike;¹⁰ but further on, Crèvecoeur began to leave out long sections, omitting, for example, the entire second day's fighting at the Battle of Bushy Run.¹¹ In his description of the council held by Bouquet with the Indians, Crèvecoeur changed a few facts, such as the numbers of prisoners returned by the Indians¹² and the names of the chiefs who made speeches.¹³ He was more interested in the last part of Smith's story and used as many pages to describe the actions of the prisoners returned at Muskingum, of

⁷ *Voyage*, III, 75. Crèvecoeur's statement, as far as I have been able to discover, is the first published acknowledgment of Dr. William Smith's authorship of the work entitled *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1764*, published anonymously in Philadelphia in 1765. The account was for a long time attributed to Robert Hutchins, geographer of the expedition, until a letter uncovered in the middle of the nineteenth century in the Library of Congress, written in 1766 by Dr. Smith to Sir William Johnson, proved Smith's authorship. The letter is reproduced in H. W. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of Rev. William Smith, D.D.* (Philadelphia, 1880), I, 392.

⁸ Hector Saint-John de Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain adressées à Wm. S. . .* (Paris, 1787), III, 412-413.

⁹ Hazen is used again in the *Voyage*, as the narrator of a trip through Georgia and Florida, a trip very similar to the one made by William Bartram (*Voyage*, III, 58 ff.).

¹⁰ The edition of Smith used here for the purpose of comparing the two accounts is that of 1907, published at Cincinnati by the Robert Lake Company.

¹¹ Cf. the *Voyage*, III, 82-83, where Crèvecoeur compressed in two pages the events told by Smith, pp. 9-36.

¹² Compare the *Voyage*, III, 85, with Smith, pp. 48-49. Crèvecoeur's numbers were always larger.

¹³ Crèvecoeur (p. 87) discarded the speech attributed by Smith (p. 37) to Kiyashuta and gave him one spoken a year later (Smith, p. 74) by another chief.

the white friends and relatives who met them, and of the Indians who had to give them up, as he used to tell of the entire campaign and the conferences which followed it. Though he retold all of Smith's incidents about the captives, he embellished them and added others.

The best example of embellishment is the story¹⁴ of the mother who, while holding one of her children, discovered another who had been captured by the Indians. Smith, depicting the mother's joy on seeing the long lost babe, told of how she let the one in her arms drop to the ground. The tender-hearted Crèvecoeur could not stand such a thought and permitted the falling child to be saved by "l'incroyable promptitude du capitaine Perceval, qui, se trouvant à coté d'elle, en prévint la chute." While the father of the two children, in Smith, is rescuing the fallen one, the mother, in Crèvecoeur, is saying to the gallant Captain Perceval, "Que le ciel vous bénisse mille et mille fois. . . . Dans l'état ou je suis, comment puis-je savoir ce que je fais?"

One addition made by Crèvecoeur is the invention of the incident¹⁵ of an Irish woman who refused to leave her former captors but made such a stirring appeal for the life of the Noble Savage that Colonel Bouquet permitted her to return to the forest. There is nothing like it in Smith. Another addition¹⁶ is Hazen's tale of Colonel Byrd's being saved in 1774 by a Cherokee chieftain, Shiloué, a tale which was supposed to illustrate Indian generosity, and which was apparently taken from Thomas Jefferson.¹⁷

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

ROLAND G. KENT
University of Pennsylvania

JOHN T. MORSE, JR., in the Preface to his *Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes*,¹ says:

The fact is that letter-writing was to Dr. Holmes an irksome task. Except to Motley and to Lowell, during their absences in Europe, he very rarely wrote spontaneously and in the way of friendship. His letters, it will be observed, were almost always written because some correspond-

¹⁴ *Voyage*, III, 97-98; Smith, p. 66.

¹⁵ *Voyage*, III, 100-101.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 101-102.

¹⁷ *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Richmond, 1853), pp. 64-65.

¹ Boston and New York, 1896.

ent could not courteously be left unanswered, or under the more or less mild compulsion of some special occasion. Therefore his letters are few. Every effort has been made to collect them, and the result is spread fully before the reader. Nothing has been omitted which, by any liberality of judgment, could be supposed to have any interest; on the contrary, notes and letters are printed, which would hardly have been selected had there been an *embarras de richesses*.

One of the letters of Dr. Holmes which did not come into the hands of Mr. Morse, and which, as will be seen, could hardly have come into them, is a letter in my possession, which was written in 1875 to my father, Lindley C. Kent (1844-1916), of Wilmington, Delaware. The circumstances of its writing are the following:

About the year 1872 there was formed at Wilmington a literary society which called itself the Friends Social Lyceum, at the meetings of which there were very lively discussions of current questions as well as of the writings of authors. The Lyceum lasted for only a few years, probably ten years or fewer. In its membership were included not merely members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, but others who were active in the social and literary life of the city, including a number of those who were connected with the local newspapers. Among the members were William and Margaret Pyle, parents of the artist Howard Pyle (1853-1911); Clement B. and Sarah Smyth, whose son was Herbert Weir Smyth, the distinguished Hellenist of Harvard University (1857-1937); a local poetess Lizzie York Case; and Alfred D. and Emalea Pusey Warner. Mr. Warner was the second president of the well-known Charles Warner Co., founded by his father Charles Warner, and now, changed in name to the Warner Co., under the presidency of his son Charles Warner.²

Among the members of the Lyceum was also my father, to whose lot it fell, early in 1875, to discuss the poetry of Dr. Holmes. To make his talk more personal, he wrote to the poet asking certain questions. The answer, postmarked in Boston on February 20, is docketed by my father as received on February 26, and runs as follows:

² The information in this paragraph was secured in 1947 from Emalea Pusey Warner, who died in Wilmington on April 12, 1948; she was almost certainly the last survivor of the Lyceum's membership.

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*Private*BOSTON Feb. 19th 1875.

DEAR SIR,

It gives me pleasure to acknowledge your polite letter, and I feel myself honored by the Friends Social Lyceum in their devoting an evening to dealing with my poetry. There will be plenty of room for finding fault if they wish to—I am sure I could help them do that easily enough. But I am afraid they will need no assistance in that direction. It is only fair to remind the gentlemen that my verse represents many periods of my life—some of it having been written when I was not much beyond boyhood, and some at

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a period of life when one is expected to lose something of his vivacity—in short is rather apt to be dull. Among my earlier poems "Old Ironsides" and "The Last Leaf" are those I am as little ashamed of as any. Among those of later years "The Chambered Nautilus" "The Voiceless" "Sun and Shadow" of the serious kind, and "The One Hoss Shay" "Contentment" "The Old Man Dreams" of lighter mood are fair representations. Of the mixed kind "Bill and Joe," "Dorothy Q." and "The Organ-blower" will serve as specimens.

I mention these because one should be judged by his better and not by his worse productions.

If you wish to know which I think the *worst*, I will only mention

you could not

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think I was going to be such a fool as that, could you? It is a kind of comfort to think that almost every body who has written much has written a good deal that was not quite up to his own standard, and in fact that most authors have written some things at least that were not worth the trouble. It gives some persons immense pleasure to put their fingers on these failures, especially of living authors, and they have a right to their enjoyment as well as others. I hope I am not over-sensitive, but like most others I had rather be spoken kindly of than harshly. I yield myself however into the hands of the "Friends" Meeting trusting that they will prove my friends as well as each others!

I mark this note *private*, meaning that it is not to be printed—a pre-

caution which may seem quite superfluous, but which I have sometimes had occasion to regret not having taken.

Very truly yours

O. W. HOLMES.

The lapse of over seventy years might perhaps be considered as canceling the final prohibition, but to avoid any semblance of bad faith I wrote in June of 1947 to the poet's grandson, Edward Jackson Holmes, of Topsfield, Massachusetts, giving a summary of the letter and asking permission to publish. Mr. Holmes promptly replied:

Your letter is most courteous, and I should like to give permission immediately, but I feel a serious responsibility in regard to Grandfather's letters. He very seldom marked them "private" and never without good reason. It may well be that the reason he had in mind is no longer valid, but I cannot tell without reading the letter. . . .

I then sent Mr. Holmes a complete transcript of it, whereupon he kindly wrote:

Of course I give you permission to publish grandfather's letter, and I am sure that if he were alive today he would not only give you his own permission but would be greatly pleased that after so many years you still cared enough for it to have it published.

It is exceedingly interesting to me and confirms my recollection of many things he said to me as a boy. . . .

This letter, it may be noted, differs from other published letters of Dr. Holmes in giving a list of his own preferences among his poems, of which eleven are here mentioned by title, and in expressing very frankly his attitude toward critics and criticism. There is no family tradition as to how the letter was received by the Friends Social Lyceum when it was read at the meeting.⁸

⁸ The letter will shortly be presented to the Historical Society of Delaware, located in the Old Town Hall at Sixth and Market streets, Wilmington, in recognition of the fact that my father played a prominent part in the business and civic activities of that city for nearly fifty years. It will there be accessible to any scholars who wish to see it in the original.

OFF "THE SANTA-FÉ TRAIL"

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IN THE JANUARY, 1948, issue of *American Literature* Mr. A. L. Bader presented three interesting letters concerning Vachel Lindsay's composition of "The Santa-Fé Trail" and concluded, in part, with the following remark: "Lastly, the letters explain the horns, which have been variously interpreted, as symbolic of 'American vices.'" Such an explanation seems only partially correct, for it fails to account for phrases like *faint-horn*, *quaint-horn*, *saint-horn*, *hod-horn*, *plod-horn*, *sod-horn*, *never-more-to-roam-horn*, *loam-horn*, *home-horn*, *calm-horn*, *balm-horn*, *psalm-horn*, which the poet also uses in the poem. These epithets are not at all symbolic of vices. They are, rather, suggestions of "the sweetness of the horns," which, in the longest of the three letters, Lindsay tells us he added as one of three concessions "to the ladies who shrunk from the rude blasts of my satire, and the mechanical-rhyme repetitions." In the last paragraph of the same letter he writes that he has tried to make "a sort of balanced sketch of American vices." Since the sketch he attempted, and finally presented, certainly does not explain all the horns in terms of vices alone, as the above words clearly show, Lindsay's "balanced sketch" apparently meant a combination of good qualities as well as bad ones. Mr. Bader wanders off the trail to conclude otherwise. For a more adequate explanation of the horns in terms of artistic principles, see my "Lindsay's 'The Santa-Fé Trail,'" *Explicator*, V, 33 (March, 1947).

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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J. B. H.

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- J. E. Spingarn. L. Marshall Van Deusen (Pennsylvania, American Civilization).
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- The Idea of the Gentleman in American Fiction, 1774-1830: A Study in the Origins of National Ideals. Emilio A. Lanier (Harvard). [Incorrectly listed, XX, 226, as a completed dissertation, titled The Southern Gentleman in American Literature.]

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 Edwin Arlington Robinson and the Arthurian Legend. Laurence Perrine (Yale, 1948).
 The Rise of the Nineteenth-Century Southerner as Portrayed in Biographies. Mary C. Owen (Peabody, 1948).
 Science and Power in History: A Study in the Historical Temperament [Henry Adams]. William Henry Jordy (Yale, American Studies, 1948).
 A Biographical Study of Edward Rowland Sill. Alfred R. Ferguson (Yale, 1948).

The Idea of Symbolism in American Writing, with Particular Reference to Emerson and Melville. Charles N. Feidelson, Jr. (Yale, 1948).

Studies in Cultural Relations between Finland and America. Ernest J. Moyne (Harvard, 1948).

Walt Whitman, Schoolmaster and School Reporter. Florence B. Freedman (Columbia, Teachers College, 1948).

IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED:

The Attitudes of Spanish-American Authors toward the United States Prior to the Great War. Irving Spiegel (Minnesota, Spanish).

Lydia M. Child. Barbara D. Simison (Yale). [Dropped as a dissertation, but continued as a project.]

Current Concepts of Literary Regionalism and Their Significance for the Teaching of American Literature. Myra L. Dunham (Columbia, Teachers College).

The Life and Works of Octavia Walton Le Vert. Richard C. Peck (Peabody).

Francis Ticknor. H. L. Boyd (Peabody).

V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

John O. Eidson (University of Georgia) is writing a brief biography of Emerson's Transcendentalist friend, Charles Stearns Wheeler. Horst Frenz (Indiana University) is editing the correspondence of Walt Whitman and Thomas William Rolleston, his Irish translator and critic. He would welcome information on unnoticed letters and other materials pertaining to this correspondence.

Israel Kaplan (Cornell University) is gathering materials for a study entitled "Rudyard Kipling's 1889 Visit to America and His Letters to the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, Texas."

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN NOVEL. By Alexander Cowie. New York: The American Book Company. 1948. xii, 877 pp. \$5.00.

Literary criticism in our country has sometimes shown an astonishing capacity for going off the deep end. To be noticed, the publicity-conscious critic has had only to develop a sufficiently *outré* thesis, preferably Freudian or Marxian, and ride that thesis as a hobby into dramatically new evaluations. To write criticism has too often meant to play up some fragment of truth as the whole truth, and thereby to arrive not at truth but at dramatized distortion.

Among the distinguished merits of Alexander Cowie's *The Rise of the American Novel* are those of avoiding all such sensational and oversimple theses, of carefully eschewing partial views, of showing not just one facet of a subject but all available ones, of looking at the truth from as many pertinent angles as possible. Mr. Cowie's book is accordingly well balanced and comprehensive, avoiding as it does both the rightist slant of Quinn's *American Fiction: An Historical and Critical Survey* and the dubious facility of Van Doren's *The American Novel*. Individual judgments, new perceptions the author has, of course, but his main concern is simply Matthew Arnold's objective of seeing the thing as in itself it really is. His is the fullest and most reliable account of the American novel during the period covered—from the beginnings to 1900.

Mr. Cowie's mingling of balance and catholicity of view is especially valuable in the treatment of such baffling major novelists as Hawthorne and Mark Twain, in dealing with whom he has not been content with the easy solutions, and to whose complexity he has done difficult justice. He has read the novelists themselves attentively, and has synthesized an immense amount of criticism and research. The notes, pages 754-860, afford an approach to the whole literature of the American novel.

The "minor" novelists, far from being neglected, receive unusually full treatment—De Forest, for example, sixteen pages, and Brockden Brown thirty-four. Such passages, with their description of and quotation from little-read novels, go far toward giving the student the characters, the style, the perceptive quality, and the "matter" of an author or generation, and thereby make clear the substantial plateaus of achievement upon which rest the works of the masters. Naturally, though, this method has the defects of its qualities. Useful in the presentation of stories which even the serious student is unlikely to read, it is dubious when applied to stories like "Benito Cereno," which everyone may be

expected to read with diligence and attention, and whose suspense-value may be harmed by premature summary.

Though using occasional topical groupings, Mr. Cowie has organized his account chiefly by authors and by titles; he has shown a justifiable coolness toward oversimple arrangements by "movements" or "schools." Unavoidably, though, he loses thereby in historical continuity. The contributing social forces, the continuing art-problems of the novel, though treated, never come quite clear. A lesser shortcoming is the very rare venial error, such as that in which Mark Twain is reported as being pleased with the *Connecticut Yankee* thirty years after its publication. A more serious one is Mr. Cowie's occasional lapse into a pedestrian style. Although he has the knack of seeing the right thing and saying it concisely—witness his designation of Augusta Evans Wilson as a "first-rate writer of a second-rate type of fiction"—he too often rests in abstractions and verbiages that merely clog up the narrative current. It is this stylistic drag that keeps the book from quite conveying the sense of adventure and the thrill of discovery which might be among the chief values in a history of the American novel.

Limitations allowed for, the distinguished merits of Mr. Cowie's book remain, abundant and substantial. More fully and impartially than any previous account, it gives the *milieu*, the matter, and the method of the American novel to 1900. The same approach, the same union of discernment and impartiality, might well be carried over into what is still the imperfectly charted jungle of twentieth-century fiction.

Blue Mountain College.

WALTER FULLER TAYLOR.

REVOLUTION IN AMERICAN DRAMA. By Edmond M. Gagey. New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. viii, 315 pp. \$3.75.

This is a kaleidoscopic survey of the Broadway scene for the last thirty years. The first two chapters, "The Great White Way" and "Changing Manners and the New Art Theatre," deal with the highly sentimental and romantic plays produced toward the end of the Frohman-Belasco era and show the gradual change in the attitude of the audience toward controversial subjects. Eugene O'Neill, who is given a separate chapter, is responsible "for the revival of the unhappy ending and the triumphant return of the tragic spirit." He is "the little theatre's gift to American drama," the pioneer in what Mr. Gagey likes to call the revolution of the American drama. "Poetry and Imagination" treats such playwrights as Maxwell Anderson, Saroyan, Green, Wilder and the long series of folk-plays; the "new realists," the drama of social protest, and proletarian drama are discussed in "The World We Live In." The field of domestic drama

(of humorous exhibition of American life, of entertainment "with a point and a sting") is surveyed in "Comedy—American Plan"; melodrama and musical comedy, in "Broadway." The book concludes with a chapter on the state of the American theater in which the author views the present situation—a dearth of new playwrights, the enormous production costs of a play; on the other hand, the serious efforts of various organizations to develop a first-class repertory theater and to encourage experimental productions. In summary, our contemporary drama was formed "by three great revolutionary drives—the revolution in manners and morals that broke down the restraints and inhibitions of the nineteenth century, the artistic revolution that invested a pedestrian theatre with color, poetry, and beauty, and the leftist revolution of the thirties that brought a missionary fervor and social consciousness in a crusade against war, poverty, and injustice." Looking ahead, Mr. Gagey hopes for another revolution that "must come if Broadway is not to return to the 1912 status of escapist show business, for the theatre needs enthusiasm and ideals to endow it with the power to stir men's minds and imagination."

According to the preface, Mr. Gagey has provided "a factual summary rather than a critical appraisal." He has sought "to report objectively on this engrossing spectacle" and made it clear that he has "no personal axe to grind." At the same time he admits that he has given "necessary evaluation to the material through selection, emphasis, attitude, and direct comment." This comment too frequently consists of such clichés as "capably done," "theatrically convincing," "brilliant," "spectacular," and "superb." Robert Sherwood, for instance, receives his share of such epithets, for his *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* is called "superb" as well as "brilliant" (twice) and *Reunion in Vienna* is referred to as "a spectacular success of the excellent 1931-1932 season." More interesting and more meaningful are the comments Mr. Gagey makes about playwrights such as Saroyan of whom he seems especially fond—he calls him (and Wilder) poet-philosophers. However, one can hardly agree with his opinion that "once his [Saroyan's] many faults and limitations as a playwright have been catalogued, one must admit that by some obscure miracle his plays show more real originality than those of O'Neill, Green, and Anderson put together." I also doubt that much of a case can be made for considering George S. Kaufman as our leading playwright, particularly in view of the statement immediately following that *The Royal Family*, which "well illustrates the glorious exploitation of a dramatic situation by shameless exaggeration," is characteristic of his work. The contention that Maxwell Anderson thinks of himself primarily as a poet needs at least some qualification in the light of the dramatist's own confession in

the preface to *Winterset*: "I have made my living as teacher, journalist and playwright and have only that skill as a poet which may come from long practice of an art I have loved and studied and cannot let alone." There are other appraisals which strike the reader as superficial because they lack the necessary elaboration.

Occasional illuminating observations on the relationship between public taste and the kind of dramatic fare shown on Broadway assist in raising the study above the level of a descriptive catalogue; and, although Mr. Gagey's book does not increase substantially our knowledge of twentieth-century drama and theater, it does provide useful information on thousands of plays, on playwrights, actors, producers, and designers.

Indiana University.

HORST FRENZ.

HART CRANE. *A Biographical and Critical Study*. By Brom Weber. New York: The Bodley Press. 1948. viii, 452 pp. \$4.50.

Brom Weber's *Hart Crane* is an important book on a major poet. Its value is great, so great that the book will be used by all who are seriously interested in Crane or in modern poetry generally. Yet most of its contribution is in the last hundred and fifty pages, which contain the section on *The Bridge* and the appendix. The rest of the book seems thin and perfunctory by comparison.

The discussion of *The Bridge*, beginning with the parallel between Crane's poem and Joseph Stella's painting of the bridge and proceeding through careful treatments of the myth, the technical features of the verse, and Crane's method of composition, to a line-by-line analysis of the poem, will take its place among the most important pieces of criticism of the poet. The whole section is buttressed by new research in the Crane manuscripts, and Mr. Weber's often considerable critical intelligence is here consistently at its best. After this fine section there is a long appendix containing twenty-nine uncollected or unprinted poems, a dozen valuable and hitherto unavailable prose pieces, and all the available drafts, dating from 1923 to 1927, of the "Atlantic" section of *The Bridge*. This material alone is so important that it should give the book a place in every library.

Unfortunately the rest is not on this level. The work is a "biographical and critical study," but it is worth very little as biography and it is not impressive as criticism aside from the section on *The Bridge*. It is inadequate as biography partly because there is not enough information but even more because the judgments are almost completely lacking in penetration and authority. One has the impression that Mr. Weber was neither very much interested in nor very well informed about this aspect of his work, that he "wrote it up" because his studies of the new Crane

manuscripts were so valuable that they seemed to justify a book-length study. Even the style of this part of the work is inferior. Banalities flourish and verbalizations substitute for thinking. Even the diction is often infelicitous. When Mr. Weber "proceeds back" into Crane's adolescence for the explanation of a poem, the result is painful both stylistically and conceptually. Again and again the obvious is heavily emphasized: "He seemed incapable of soberly evaluating his experience." (Naturally so, since Mr. Weber says elsewhere that Crane's early neuroticism developed into a psychotic condition with evidences of "paranoia, manic-depressive disorder, alcoholic dementia, etc." One hardly expects a psychotic or near-psychotic personality to be able to evaluate its experience soberly.) On the other hand, real biographical problems are disposed of by glib references to the Oedipus complex or to something called "Western society's barbaric moral principles." Real relationships are reversed, as when it is said that Crane's sense of isolation was the cause of his guilt feeling. One wishes that Mr. Weber were either a better psychoanalyst or that he had left psychoanalysis entirely alone and had attempted no biographical pronouncements.

The early part of the book is also, though less strikingly, inadequate as criticism. The best parts here are the comments on individual poems and the new facts about Crane's reading and his ideas, both drawn from Mr. Weber's study of the manuscripts and letters. The worst are those parts that are, or ought to be, philosophical. Mr. Weber is very uneasy when handling ideas. He makes his whole analysis of Crane's "confusion," for example, rest on an uncritical acceptance of F. S. C. Northrop's theories as those are expressed in an article in *Furioso* and in *The Meeting of East and West*. Professor Northrop's position may well be correct, but surely so central a point deserves discussion. One would feel more confidence in Mr. Weber's analysis if he displayed some familiarity with other philosophers and aestheticians. Again, when he comes to the crucial matter of the influence of Ouspensky's *Tertium Organum* on Crane, he falls into the opposite error: he cautiously refrains from evaluating that influence as a whole and, after a few rather obvious remarks, contents himself with merely summarizing Ouspensky's book. A complete critical study of Crane must, because of the kind of poet that Crane was, treat, and judge, the highly complex religious, philosophical, and cultural currents of the twenties, and in none of these areas does Mr. Weber show either command of fact or skill in judgment. Finally, even his critical comments on the poems in *White Buildings* are too often superficial or obvious when they do not proceed from, and remain close to, an examination of the manuscripts.

In short, Mr. Weber has not done the definitive study which the book was apparently intended to be. But the section on *The Bridge* and the appendix make it an important, though disappointing, book.

The University of Kansas City.

HYATT HOWE WAGGONER.

THE INFLUENCE OF ÉMILE ZOLA ON FRANK NORRIS. By Lars Åhnebrink. Essays and Studies on American Language and Literature, The American Institute in the University of Upsala, V. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1947. 68 pp. \$1.25.

One hopes after reading this monograph that American scholars who write about European authors and publish their work in those authors' tongues do at least as creditably as Mr. Åhnebrink has done with this study of Frank Norris. In fourteen pages he gives a clear summary account of Norris's life. Another four pages contain a rather conventional account of Naturalism—the scientific spirit, the exploitation of brutality, the influence of Taine and Claude Bernard, the effect of heredity on the Rougon-Macquart family—and repeat the conventional error that Naturalism is essentially "pessimistic." It is pessimistic, Mr. Åhnebrink says, because man is presented as "a victim of forces beyond his control"; and in the next paragraph he goes on to the assertion that Naturalism is a literature of social protest. This contradiction is so widespread that one may properly say it is the normal attitude toward Naturalism. On the one hand it is pessimistic determinism; on the other hand it is a literature of social protest. Since protest is the opposite of resignation, it requires only a single step to understand that social protest and pessimistic determinism are mutually exclusive—unless one takes a second step to show that the determinism applies only to the forces of heredity and environment *as given*, whereas the writer also assumes free will in the reader (and hence in society at large) to learn and then to act upon and control these forces which in their turn control man.

The most interesting discovery by Mr. Åhnebrink is that in writing *McTeague* Norris borrowed considerable passages of description practically verbatim from *Vandover and the Brute*. The influence which he traces in the second half of this monograph is a matter of situations, scenes, phrases, and tones. Chief sources are *L'Assommoir* for *Vandover* and *McTeague*, *La Bête humaine* for *Vandover* and *The Octopus*, *La Terre* and *Germinal* for *The Octopus*, and *L'Argent* for *The Pit*. Indications of parallel situations are usually convincing. When we are told, however, that "'Say, there'" in *Vandover* is clearly a translation of "Dites donc" in *La Bête humaine*, we may well doubt Mr. Åhnebrink's familiarity with American idiom.

The study is admittedly specialized; it does not deal with the nature of Norris's art, but it records materials useful for such a study, which Mr. Ahnebrink is making.

Washington and Jefferson College.

CHARLES CHILD WALCUTT.

VICTORIAN CINDERELLA: *The Story of Harriet Beecher Stowe.* By Phyllis Wynn Jackson. New York: Holiday House. 1947. 296 pp. Illustrated. \$3.00.

Great expectations did not enter much into Harriet Beecher Stowe's calculations. As a young person (we are reminded by Miss Jackson's *Victorian Cinderella*), she was not unaware of latent powers, and she early gave evidence of great tenacity of purpose. Yet her situation did not augur eminence. She was a woman, and that meant a sharp delimitation of what she could hope to accomplish in Victorian America. She was a Beecher woman, and that meant (she feared) following a familiar formula of subordination: maybe she would get to be a teacher or a minister's wife. (She became both—but how much more in addition!) She was odd-looking, gauche, and more than usually silent. A small dark corner of life was all this Cinderella could hope for.

She did in fact for many years follow the pattern that seemed indicated. Poverty, hardship, and rebuff she endured aplenty. But there were astonishing things in her "future." As time went on, she had more and more the air of being surprised at what life set before her. She had been surprised at her first opportunity to fly the Beecher nest at Litchfield: she was going to be permitted to study and to teach at Hartford. Fate (so it seemed) swooped down and ordered the exodus to Ohio, where she endured the filth and squalor of a frontier city and where, on the very fringes of that ineffably iniquitous institution of slavery, she first became fully aware of tensions that would finally convulse the nation. Personal surprises continued to crop up. She rubbed her eyes when she learned that editors were willing to pay real money for stories she had had fun in writing. And marriage—how could such a homely little minx ever hope to escape spinsterhood? Well, she got her man. To be sure, the manner of his coming and the circumstances of the betrothal were sufficiently fantastic. And certainly Professor Calvin Stowe was in person and station far from a Prince Charming. Existence was unpredictable, sometimes shocking, sometimes thrilling. Harriet gasped, gulped, sighed, murmured, or clenched her fists as the case called for—but she carried on.

More hardship and much motherhood preceded the return to New England, where began the strangest cycle of all. In Brunswick she was at first only a "faculty wife," but it was there that the unconscious

preparation of many years—all that she had ever seen or heard or read about slavery—found its emotional focus when she had a “vision” one day in church. And the *National Era*, for which she had been writing sedate domestic pieces, proved to be a ready transmission medium for the stores of power she had been accumulating.

Mrs. Stowe was as surprised as any one when the reception of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* proved that she was helping to shape the destiny of a nation. The meek little Beecher girl had become an object of interest to the world. She claimed no credit, insisting that God “wrote the book.” But she was astonished to discover that the story which she had hoped would touch the hearts of people (especially in the South) had the effect of generating such fierce hatreds between men. She found it hard to believe that a book written with such a consuming desire to aid humanity should have made the author the object of such intense personal recrimination. She had still to learn that it is particularly dangerous for a woman to interfere in business and politics. The personal effects of her fame on Cinderella were dazzling enough: the trip to Scotland and England and the Continent conformed to storybook pattern. Remotely cherished dreams were magically objectified. Why, she could now buy as many silk dresses as she had a mind to. When people took “tea” with her, they might be two thousand strong. Yet she did not swerve appreciably from the high purpose which had animated her with an essentially religious fervor. She worked on for humanity. She visited Lincoln to urge emancipation. She coped, too, with personal relationships that were altered by her new status. Saddened to find her darling younger brother Henry Ward Beecher so fearful of speaking out against slavery, she had besought him to use his great personal gifts in the cause. It was disillusioning, too, to discover that Henry Ward was patently jealous of her fame. Friends disappointed her when they regarded her rejection of Calvinistic doctrine as a proof of impiety on her part. Yet she met these, as well as many other personal trials and tribulations, with the sturdy resilience that she showed throughout her long life. A Cinderella she may have been, but she was also a staunch New Englander. She was as competent to deal with the factual as with the fabulous.

In her biography of Harriet Beecher Stowe Miss Jackson emphasizes, among other things, the problem of the homely little girl trying to find her way in a world made largely for and by men. In analyzing Harriet's personal problems she produces a vivid and sometimes touching portrait. There are extremely interesting portraits also of other members of the family, including the brilliant and quixotic Lyman Beecher. There is also much description of living habits of the early nineteenth century, a

New England Thanksgiving in the 1820's, for example. The author's narrative technique is basically good, though not unflawed in the execution. Her plan apparently was to follow the life-line of Harriet and to bring in data revealing the life of the period only in so far as they impinged on her consciousness. Yet this good intention is somewhat awkwardly violated in a number of passages when the author merely *supplies* information. No attempt is made to reproduce the speech of the period, but the simplicity of most of the language and the avoidance of markedly modern idiom favor the reader's acceptance of many imagined conversations.

This book is not designed for scholars. It purports to offer no new materials. Moreover, Miss Jackson was not concerned to quote Mrs. Stowe's letters with literal accuracy. *Victorian Cinderella* is not a literary or an historical study but a human document. It is best adapted to young folk in quest of a basically true story of a real person who became a great national figure. It should be particularly interesting to teen-age boys and girls. Yet it is not "written down" to any particular level, and adult readers who dip into it may well find it hard to set the book down.

Wesleyan University.

ALEXANDER COWIE.

GEORGE ADE, WARMHEARTED SATIRIST. By Fred C. Kelly. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1947. 282 pp. \$3.50.

Mr. Kelly, a newspaperman and the author of several biographies, has given us a journalist's account of the life of George Ade (1866-1944). Here are great quantities of facts about Ade's childhood, his education, his career as a journalist, humorist, playwright, and scenario writer, his way of living, his wide travels.

Mr. Kelly has a good deal of the equipment necessary for a satisfactory study of Ade's life and works—industry, careful thoroughness, sympathy with his subject, an ability to write interestingly. He has collected many of Ade's autobiographical remarks, and he quotes them frequently since he believes that "the best way to acquaint the reader with the character and individuality of George Ade is to use his own language." He has also read what others say about the humorist; he has interviewed friends; he has recalled his own associations with Ade, and he has gone through a large collection of personal papers. The result is a detailed and readable record of a popular author's life.

But unfortunately Mr. Kelly lacks one kind of equipment very important for the writing of this sort of a biography. The lack is evident when, for instance, he wishes to acquaint the reader with the quality of one of Ade's much admired fables in slang. Mr. Kelly quotes the fable,

quotes the comments of a critic or two, quotes Ade himself on his fables, and offers this comment of his own:

One reason for the success of the Fables was their indigenous American quality; and they were American because George Ade, brought up in the American way, in a typically American region, had liked the people about him. . . . Readers not only gave the Fables the praise of their merriest laughter; they loved the author. He was their friend. He seemed sure that the characters he wrote about would appreciate the joke. He never sneered. He taught us to laugh at ourselves: (p. 149)

The lack is evident when he thus considers the writing and the literary qualities of one of Ade's plays:

George was downhearted after *Artie*, but the next year, 1908, Mr. Frohman produced his *Father and the Boys* for the popular William H. Crane, and the New York critics pronounced it the best comedy in town. Crane played it for three years. It was all about how the "old man" gets the better of the young folk, instead of the other way around. The piece had plenty of the Ade kind of slang, provided by "Matty" McGowan, boxing instructor. (p. 200)

The lack is evident—to cite a final example of many which might be cited—when Mr. Kelly says what he has to say about Ade's success as a humorist: "Probably Ade's success came from detecting how absurd most of us can be. It was by the accuracy of his observations, his ability to see what was right under his nose and to show others what they had failed to notice, that he made millions laugh" (p. 250).

The lack is of the ability to perceive much in literature or to say much about it that is illuminating. Such a shortcoming is particularly unfortunate, of course, since the subject of this biography was chiefly important not for his activities, his sayings, or his comments upon his own work, but for his achievements in the field of writing.

University of Chicago.

WALTER BLAIR.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL: *Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes*. By Harry Hayden Clark and Norman Foerster. New York: American Book Company. 1947. clxvi, 498 pp. \$2.50.

Some years ago an eminent American scholar remarked to me that James Russell Lowell called to mind the question of Robert Frost's oven-bird, "what to make of a diminished thing." Now it will have to be admitted that Lowell's fame suffered a nearly total eclipse in the first quarter of the present century. Beginning, however, with the initial studies of Harry Hayden Clark and Norman Foerster between 1925 and 1930, and the publication of the *New Letters of James Russell Lowell* by M. A. DeWolfe Howe in 1932, the revival of interest in Lowell has pro-

ceeded quietly, but nonetheless steadily. The most recent evidence is this latest volume in the well-known American Writers Series.

Professors Clark and Foerster have aimed "to reprint selections representing Lowell's *development* as an unusually versatile man-of-letters, using a multitude of forms." To that end they have selected forty-five poems (including excerpts from *A Fable for Critics*), twenty-two letters in whole or in part, two complete essays and portions of eleven others—thus dividing their volume almost equally between poetry and prose. The selections are preceded by an extensive bibliography, a chronology of Lowell's life, and an introduction composed of two distinct and lengthy critiques.

The first, "Lowell's Mental Growth," by Professor Clark, enlarges upon the material in his article, "Lowell—Humanitarian, Nationalist, or Humanist?" (*Studies in Philology*, XXVII, 411-441, July, 1930), and traces, with copious quotations and cross-references, three stages in Lowell's development:

Until about 1850 he was a *humanitarian*, devoted to advancing mankind by . . . an appeal to the sympathetic heart rather than the head. Second, from about 1850 to about 1867 he was a *nationalist* who thought that abolition was subordinate to "nationality" as the parent of authoritative order. . . . Third, from about 1867 to the end, he became what Jefferson meant by a *natural aristocrat* who is socially responsible.

One cannot help wondering if Professor Clark's substitution of "natural aristocrat" for "humanist" in his later classification of what he calls Lowell's "centers of relative emphasis" has been somewhat influenced by changing fashions in American criticism.

The second essay in the introduction, "Lowell as a Critic," by Professor Foerster, is a reprinting of Chapter III from his *American Criticism* (1928). Readers of that work will recall the lukewarm estimate of Lowell: "He possessed a set of controlling ideas that wanted only the impact of great personal qualities." The present volume's preface, signed by Foerster as well as Clark, expresses a much more positive tribute to Lowell's intellectual power: "He kept measure with his people, tried to meet their changing needs. . . . Lowell, all things considered, [could be argued] the most completely representative spokesman of the New England mind."

The contents and the editing of this Lowell anthology are disappointing in several respects. First, none of the poems, essays, or letters are provided with footnotes beyond those which Lowell himself supplied, except for *Dante* and for *Democracy*, to each of which Professor Foerster has appended a scanty set. The notes at the end of the book describe the origins and the publication of the individual pieces, offer background material, or comment on Lowell's thought, but these notes rarely en-

lighten the reader as to the numerous references and quotations in the texts. Lowell's penchant for allusion, one of his outstanding characteristics, can be properly appreciated only when there is sufficient annotating to reveal the richness of his associational capacity. Secondly, none of Lowell's prose writings are printed in their entirety with the exception of two political pieces. The selections therefore do not fully exhibit Lowell's qualities as a writer of either the informal or the critical essay. To edit away, for example, his discursiveness is to misrepresent his accomplishment. Finally, if Lowell's is a "curiously unique individuality and 'personality,'" as the editors say in the Preface, then they should have delineated with more emphasis and warmth the "man" in distinction from the "thinker." The admitted loveliness of Lowell's nature must be reckoned a foremost element in his impact upon readers today as in the past.

University of Cincinnati.

WILLIAM SMITH CLARK II.

WILLIAM CRARY BROWNELL: *Literary Adviser*. By Me Tsung Kaung Tang. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. 1946. 93 pp.

Mrs. Me Tsung Kaung Tang's doctoral dissertation on William Crary Brownell is, in her words, "the only serious study of Brownell in his totality," and she hopes that it will be "criticism in the true Brownellian sense—criticism which reconstructs an author's personality." She wishes also to "bring Brownell back to memory and meditation again" so that we can profit by his "timely advice for the war-wearied humanity and the disjointed world" and so that she can do her "share . . . in interpreting America to China." In her last chapter Mrs. Tang fulfils this purpose well: she makes some penetrating remarks on the defects of Brownell's "cautious, always correct" personality, but she concludes that, in spite of his limitations, he remains a "fruitful and inspiring" critic, the current neglect of whom "is an alarming symptom of intellectual paralysis brought on by culture starvation." Even in her first three chapters Mrs. Tang's erudition is evident in her comparison of Brownell's criticism with that of numerous other critics, and she has discovered some interesting material in the unpublished Amherst Collection of Brownell papers—for example, the letter in which Henry James asked Brownell: "Had you meant to make so intensive a study of my work, why did you not come within and be seated, instead of walking around the house and looking in at the window?"

But in her first three chapters Mrs. Tang's comments on the individual works of Brownell are seriously damaged by frequent errors in logic and fact that cannot be excused as difficulties which a foreigner might be

expected to have with English. Consider the following not unusual *non sequitur*: "There is a touch of professional jealousy in Brownell's criticism of Ruskin." As proof of this forthright accusation she says in the next two sentences: "Above all, he [Brownell] disapproves of the practice of merging art and ethics. It seems highly blasphemous thus to degrade the most exalted of mistresses." Aside from the question of whether Brownell was justified—and there is much evidence that he was—in his closely reasoned five-page analysis of Ruskin's didacticism, it is hard to see how his opinion can indicate that he was motivated by "professional jealousy." There is room to mention only one of a considerable number of Mrs. Tang's errors in fact: She says that Brownell "attributes much of the 'defect' of Poe's writings to alcohol and opium or worse," and she gives evidence to prove that Poe did not use opium. As a matter of fact, Brownell's only reference to opium (and there is no reference to anything "worse") is to say that Poe's poetry would have been better if he had used opium instead of alcohol, since "the effects of opium in stimulating and coloring the poetic imagination—as in Coleridge's case—are familiar. But those of alcohol are pathologically quite different and quite inferior" (*American Prose Masters*, p. 230).

Mrs. Tang finds an interesting parallel to what she calls Brownell's "monistic" theory of the interpenetration of the arts in the following quotation from a Chinese classical scholar, Tse Hsia:

Poetry is the expression of the Will; in the heart it is Will, when spoken it is poetry; feelings stir in the heart, so they take form in words; where words are inadequate, sighs are heard; when sighs relieve not, songs are sung; what the songs cannot convey, hands and feet express in the dance.

It is to be regretted that this is her only reference to her native Chinese literature. Both American and Chinese readers would have profited, aesthetically at least, by more of this kind of literary internationalism, and Mrs. Tang's work would have been more truly, as she wished it to be, "criticism in the true Brownellian sense."

University of Mississippi.

HARRY MODEAN CAMPBELL.

THE THEATRE BOOK OF THE YEAR, 1946-1947. By George Jean Nathan. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. xx, 380 pp. \$4.00.

As the year's harvest of one of our leading dramatic critics, this volume is a valuable addition to his series of criticisms. It contains not only the author's stimulating opinions on all the theatrical offerings of the season, but also an "Honor List" of various "bests" and a statistical record of the season's productions.

One of Nathan's outstanding attributes as a critic is his Gargantuan

capacity for finding fault. Most of the plays he reviews evoke a critical "lambasting." This is a salutary attitude, helpful in exposing mediocrity, fustian, commercialism, false heroics, fumbling dramaturgy, etc.; it is especially pertinent in a realm where meretricious qualities often predominate. And Nathan must be credited with a clear-eyed and persistent acclamation of O'Neill's greatness; Nathan places him with Shaw and O'Casey as the "three really distinguished [dramatists] among the world's living." (If we link with this Nathan's admiration for Oscar Wilde and Synge, we see that the Irish are doing well.)

Nathan calls "The Iceman Cometh" "one of O'Neill's top achievements" and says that "it makes most of the plays of other American playwrights produced during the more than twelve-year period of O'Neill's absence look comparatively like so much damp tissue paper." The recognition of this play's importance is all to Nathan's credit (though the present writer doesn't rate it quite so highly); but the latter part of the above judgment illustrates one of Nathan's chief weaknesses as a critic: he will sacrifice measure to a mood or a figure of speech. Even making allowances for the stylistic intent of the above, the judgment involved is distorted. Also, Nathan seems to have an unduly low estimate of Anderson and Lillian Hellman. Of the former he says, "Mr. Anderson, in brief, enjoys all the attributes of a profound thinker save profundity." But in reviewing "Joan of Lorraine" he fails to show why Anderson's inquiry into the need for and bases of faith is not profound. Also, in the same play he objects to "Mr. Anderson's periodic intrusion into the proceedings with some of his characteristic cerebral exercises." But this statement overlooks the novel structure of the play which places the philosophical inquiry dramatically and naturally with the persons of the play.

In reading this book it soon becomes apparent that many of Nathan's "disgustos" center on one theme: "old stuff." His reviews are crammed with such expressions as "rusty plot," "stereotyped," "ancient comedy," "all too familiar," "stomach's fill," "stale," "humdrum" (all these from one review), "out of the old stage trunk," "commonplace," "vended again the theme," "a not unfamiliar brew," etc. This is a legitimate type of objection to a play, but when it forms the basis of a large portion of a critic's adverse judgments, one suspects that the reviewer is suffering from an occupational virus. Nathan dissents from the favorable estimate usually accorded "All My Sons" on the basis that the theme is old and that the treatment is familiar; such terms as the following fill the review: "we are again presented with," "customary," "platitude," "just another in the line of exhibits," "it says what we already too well know in a manner we already know as well," "old trick."

Nathan occasionally digresses in his criticism, but his topical excursions are nearly always worth reading because of their vigorous and novel language. In fact, Nathan's lusty expressiveness seldom fails him. The forthrightness, independence, wit, and high standards of this critic deserve commendation; but we need not be larruped into accepting all his final estimates.

Bucknell University.

ALLAN G. HALLINE.

AMERICAN MEMOIR. By Henry Seidel Canby. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1947. 433 pp. \$5.00.

In 1934 Henry Seidel Canby published his *Age of Confidence*, a sympathetic appraisal of Wilmington, Delaware, as he remembered it from his boyhood days. Two years later appeared his *Alma Mater*, the second installment of this combination of reminiscence and analysis focused this time on New Haven and Yale College. The present volume reprints the earlier books with some revision and telescoping and adds a third section, *Brief Golden Age*, devoted largely to the New York years in which Mr. Canby edited *The Literary Review* and subsequently *The Saturday Review of Literature*. Thus there are three focal points in the author's chronicle, social life in a small city in the 1890's, academic activities in a college community, and literary journalism in New York, although always he is interested in books and their makers and invariably, his disclaimer to the contrary, his approach is personal.

Little need be said of the first two thirds of *American Memoir* since the material is generally familiar. Mr. Canby's re-creation of Quaker Wilmington is fascinating social history and his description of the comfortable, spacious mansions which he knew as a boy is understandably nostalgic. In like manner his account of the Yale of Professors Henry A. Beers and Albert S. Cook makes pleasant reading, and most college teachers will enjoy the analysis of the academic profession despite Jacques Barzun's fuller dissection in his *Teacher in America*. College as Mr. Canby remembers it around 1900 was strenuous, romantic, fiercely competitive; one can legitimately doubt that it was quite so democratic as he asserts or that American college students fixed the codes, ideals, and manners of living for the entire nation.

The final section of *American Memoir* is largely the literary history of the 1920's as Mr. Canby saw it and to some extent helped to make it. The two periodicals with which he was associated gave him a ringside seat at the literary zoo (to use his own figure), and his long service on the jury of selection for The Book-of-the-Month Club provided invaluable experience in choosing books for mass circulation. Sooner or later dur-

ing his literary editorship he met all the important American authors. With surprising objectivity he observed trends and watched reputations, always trying to detect originality which was more than freakishness and welcoming the sincere craftsmen despite their multitude of forms. His vignettes of certain writers like Vachel Lindsay and Sinclair Lewis are masterly, but there are too few of them; on the other hand, his tributes to his fellow-workers on magazine and book clubs are conventional eulogy.

Despite its freshness the last part of the book is somewhat of a miscellany, with literary appraisals heterogeneously mixed up with accounts of Mr. Canby's pilgrimages abroad as the emissary of the P.E.N. club. The best writing is in the earlier sections, where he both evokes and judges a past epoch. Many readers will appreciate his sympathetic photograph of the Victorian twilight in America.

University of Illinois.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN.

LEGENDS OF PAUL BUNYAN. Compiled and edited by Harold W. Felton. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. xxi, 418 pp. \$5.00.

This book is a Paul Bunyan reader. Mr. Felton has assembled a generous collection not only from such obvious Bunyanites as Laughead, Shephard, and Stevens, but also from a great variety of less well-known scholarly, literary, and folk sources. He has drawn upon Northwestern newspaper columns, fugitive pamphlets of Charles E. Brown, his own unpublished collection, and—to be catholic—Frost, Sandburg, and the Federal Writers' Project. His topical arrangement gives us an opening section which declares that Paul's spirit is alive in America, and a close which declares that it is here to stay. The bulk of the stories are grouped around common themes such as Paul the man, Babe, Paul's friends, food, the animal kingdom, Paul's inventions, his geography, his control of weather.

The volume is a convenient collection of materials otherwise difficult to assemble. It is also a useful minute on the present status of one of our most recent folk heroes. One is struck by the adhesive process that has united Bunyan's name to a wide variety of Munchausen anecdote. Bunyan himself has not developed much personality; and despite the cluster of tales that might honestly be said to circulate orally, there are few signs that a saga is in the process of creation. As with Mike Fink or Joe Magerac, one is respectful before the display of prowess; but the heroics are too perfect to enlist our warmest sympathy, and there is lacking even such a continuity as that furnished by Davy Crockett's career upon which a coherent structure of legend might be formed. That is not

to say that Paul Bunyan is a disappointing hero, but simply that it is not in literature that he lives. Ironically enough, however, Frost's "Paul's Wife" catches the logger "in the round" as do none of the tall tales; the psychological penetration of the poem is not to be found in the primitive or popular anecdotes with which we are familiar.

The book is inevitably uneven, given the wide variety and spirit of its sources. While most of the selections may provoke delight, it is surprising that so few are genuinely mirthful. As with any collection of anecdotes, the reader should be warned that pleasure comes in small doses.

The book contains an enthusiastic "Old Logger's Foreword" by James Stevens, and a valuable bibliography which includes—with additions—the material gathered in earlier lists by Miss Gladys Haney (*JAF*, LV, 155-168, July-Sept., 1942) and Herbert Halpert (*JAF*, LVI, 57-59, Jan.-March, 1943).

Ohio State University.

CLAUDE M. SIMPSON, JR.

MARK TWAIN. By M. Mendelson. Moscow: Fskblksm Molodaya Gvardiya (Young Guard). 1939. 272 pp.

This is a typical Soviet book about a non-Soviet writer, prepared in accordance with the principles of orthodox Communist thought and duly provided with the proper citations from Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The opinion of Stalin is not given. Mark Twain and his works are discussed against the background of American history as interpreted by the Soviet authorities with due regard to the class struggle in all phases of American life. Much of the book is written in a lively and entertaining manner. Mark Twain's father and his wife are treated throughout with irony, and the author laughs at the efforts of the writer in the early years of his marriage to live on the same plane as the Langdons. Throughout, great emphasis is laid upon his irreligion and upon the growing signs of his disillusionment with the American dream in which Mark Twain, as a man of the Western democracy and of the frontier, believed sincerely. The episode with Gorky is quite lightly treated. The author points out that Gorky in his relations with the lady whom he had with him had acted contrary to American customs. "Mark Twain did not go against the customs and left Gorky" (p. 262).

The following paragraph is significant. "In the conditions of imperialism, the petty bourgeois Twain felt with all sharpness that around him was an intolerably hostile reality. Bourgeois democracy definitely deceived his hopes, but the powers that could establish a new, juster order of things, build life otherwise, be the source of joy, strengthen the feeling of human worth, in another way explain the creation of the world—the

strengths of the proletariat, Twain never saw. In this was shown the limitation of Twain as of every bourgeois humanist. Disappointed in bourgeois society, Twain transferred his disillusionment to the entire 'human race' (pp. 252-253). The conclusion of the book is as follows: "Mark Twain was meeting death without fear. He was dying an atheist, an enemy of religion. Twain died in Stormfield, April 21, 1910" (p. 266).

Step by step the author, who has added a good bibliography of American works on Mark Twain, approaches his goal. His book is a connected history of the spiritual and literary progress of a writer who is held back by the censorship of his wife and friends and who did not have the moral courage to break completely with a Europeanized and class society. If there is a real turning point in the life of the writer, it was at the dinner in Boston for John Greenleaf Whittier, when Twain's Western democratic humor failed to please the distinguished guests (p. 166), but even this was but a step along the course which led a serious critic of society to be treated only as a humorist. All of Mark Twain's works are judged by this standard. All are fitted into the pattern that was laid down by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. His novels and his sketches contain much that was of use to the critics of the old order, and that is well praised and evaluated; but long before the end we can see how the onward march of capitalism was destined to break down before the triumph of the proletariat and how Mark Twain was destined to be a victim of his frustrated hopes.

The book is a sincere and conscientious effort to include all of Mark Twain in a fixed program. All that contradicts or thwarts the attempt is treated with irony or contempt, and in the long run Mark Twain appears with his *Mysterious Stranger* and his later writings as a humorous American Andreyev. We may well wonder what Mark himself would have said of the picture.

Columbia University.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

BRIEF MENTION

ANTHOLOGIE DE LA POÉSIE AMERICAINE CONTEMPORAINE. *Texte anglais et traduction.* By Maurice le Breton. Paris; Les Éditions Denoël. 1948. 339 pp.

It is always illuminating to see what a distinguished foreign critic chooses to emphasize in American literature. Although M. le Breton in his judicious sixty-one page introduction regards Emily Dickinson as more significant in our later poetic tradition than the Imagists, he includes the representative poems by the Imagists. Among the twenty-eight poets represented, in addition to those who are now considered standard, are Léonie Adams, George Dillon, Marianne Moore. In the introduction seven others not represented in the anthology are mentioned; they are Stephen Benét, Malcolm Cowley, J. C. Ransom, Muriel Rukeyser, Karl Shapiro, Allen Tate, and Robert Penn Warren. It is interesting to notice that M. le Breton concludes after surveying all the bewildering variety in contemporary poetry that Archibald MacLeish's work "paraît réaliser le plus pleinement la synthèse des diverses tendances que nous avons constatées dans la poésie américaine d'aujourd'hui. Son évolution même est caractéristique. . . . Il concentre en lui des genres et des thèmes ailleurs dispersés, bien rarement réunis dans le même écrivain. . . . C'est dans son oeuvre que semblent s'être opérés la décantation et le filtrage des multiples tendances de cette période trouble, et cette oeuvre est essentiellement force et clarté" (p. 59). This attractive book with its exact but not literal translations ought to be useful in introducing, with critical tact and insight, our best contemporary poets to the French people.

University of Wisconsin.

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK.

THE POEMS OF WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. Edited by Louis Untermeyer. New York: The Heritage Press. 1947. xix, 298 pp. \$3.75.

This handsomely bound volume supplies selected poems (undated) by Bryant under five groups, three of them chronological, twenty-five hymns, and nine early uncollected poems. Each of the five sections is prefaced by a half-page of impressionistic comment. Interspersed throughout the book are generalized engravings (twenty-five in all), by Thomas W. Nason, well-known Connecticut etcher. The five-page Introduction describes Bryant's precocity, his educational disappointments, Irving's help in promoting the first English edition, Bryant's serenity and nobility, and his general indebtedness to Pope, Cowper, Southey, White, and

Wordsworth. In both the Introduction and the brief comments before each section one misses the vivacity and critical keenness of Mr. Untermeyer revealed in some of his other editorial accomplishments.

University of Kentucky.

HERMAN E. SPIVEY.

WALT WHITMAN² AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF "*The Good Gray Poet*." By Nathan Resnick. Brooklyn: Long Island University Press. Litho-printed. 1948. 38 pp. \$1.75.

On internal evidence, the effort is made in this pamphlet to show that Whitman had a hand in the composition of O'Connor's famous tract. One is not very impressed by the argument that *The Good Gray Poet* contains such "Whitmanic words" as *primal, amative, grand, naïve, magnetism, graved, great, august*, and so on (p. 36), for they are not peculiar to Whitman or anyone else. This is a performance by an amateur.

C. G.

FORMS OF MODERN FICTION: *Essays Collected in Honor of Joseph Warren Beach*. Edited by William Van O'Connor. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 1948. 305 pp. \$4.50.

Twenty-three essays, all but four of which have previously appeared in such periodicals as the *Kenyon Review*, the *Sewanee Review*, *Hound and Horn*, *Accent*, the *Yale Review*, the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, *College English*, and *Furioso*, which comment variously on forms and techniques of the novel. Contributors include Allen Tate, T. S. Eliot, Robert Penn Warren, Lionel Trilling, E. K. Brown, and Morton Dauwen Zabel. Subjects of the essays range, chronologically, from the Brontës, through Conrad, Virginia Woolf, E. M. Forster, and André Gide, to D. H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, and Robert Penn Warren. Of the original contributions to the volume, Mr. O'Connor's introduction, "The Novel in Our Time," and Charles Child Walcutt's "The Naturalism of *Vandover and the Brute*" deal pertinently with American trends and writers.

THE ART OF FICTION AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Henry James. Edited with an Introduction by Morris Roberts. New York: Oxford University Press. 1948. xxiv, 240 pp. \$3.75.

An assembling of James's essays on the novel and novelists, including, in addition to the title essay, those on Balzac, Trollope, de Maupassant, Turgenev, Flaubert, and Zola, his essay on "The New Novel," on "Criticism," and on "Emerson," which Mr. Roberts introduces with an excellently informed essay of his own on James as a critic.

THE AGE OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION, 1929-1941. By Dixon Wecter. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1948. 362 pp. \$5.00.

Similar in format, arrangement of materials, and method of presentation, Mr. Wecter's book is a continuation (though not numbered in series) of the twelve-volume *A History of American Life* edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox. It presents a well-integrated social history of the period, valuable as background reading for the general student. Comment on literature, except for incidental reference in other chapters, is limited to twenty-eight pages, Chapter XII, "Reading, Writing, and Revolution."

CRITICISM: *The Foundations of Modern Literary Judgment*. Edited by Mark Schorer, Josephine Miles, and Gordon McKenzie. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1948. xi, 553 pp. \$5.00.

An anthology of literary criticism, from Plato and Aristotle to our contemporaries, arranged according to three categories: Source ("where art comes from"), Form ("how it becomes what it is"), and End ("what it does"). The volume will be useful as an introductory text in the varieties of modern criticism.

MARK TWAIN IN THREE MOODS: *Three New Items of Twainiana*. Edited by Dixon Wecter. San Marino: The Friends of the Huntington Library. 1948. 32 pp.

An Occasional Publication of the Friends of the Huntington Library, this slim, attractively printed volume presents two manuscript notes by Mark Twain—a description of Lake Tahoe, probably intended as part of a lecture, and a satire on the treatment of Chinese immigrants in California—together with a description by Charles Erskine Scott Wood of a mock-savage outburst against babies with which Mark shocked a spinster in 1881.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS. By William M. Gibson and George Arms. New York: New York Public Library. 1948. 182 pp. \$2.25.

The limitations of this volume, candidly pointed out in its Preface, are that some English editions and foreign translations have been omitted because of the compilers' "inabilities under war conditions to make proper examination of these materials," and that a few earlier periodical items, the existence of which is almost certain, have not been located. Otherwise, this compilation (reprinted from the *Bulletin of the New York*

Public Library) is a working tool for which all students of Howells and his period will be grateful. It is intelligently arranged and effectively annotated.

AMERICAN FICTION, 1774-1850: *A Contribution toward a Bibliography.*

By Lyle H. Wright. San Marino, California: Huntington Library Publication. 1948. xviii, 355 pp.

A revision and expansion of Mr. Wright's bibliography of 1939, broadened to include 2,772 titles, not only of novels, romances, tales, and short stories, but also "fictitious biographies, travels and sketches, allegories, tract-like tales, and others of similar nature," although excluding annuals, gift books, publications of the American Tract Society, the Sunday School Union juveniles, Indian captivities, jest books, anthologies, and periodicals. Items are arranged alphabetically, according to the author's names (when known), otherwise, by titles (sometimes shortened). Publisher or printer, date of publication (when known), and an approximation of the length of each item which has been examined are also given. A chronological index and a title index complete the useful machinery of the compilation. No effort has been made to locate all extant copies of each book, but only those in the twenty-one libraries or private collections listed by Mr. Wright, which listing—it seems strange to the present reviewer—does not include the Columbia University, the Duke University, or the University of Texas libraries. In spite of all limitations, many of them modestly self-confessed in the Introduction, Mr. Wright's "contribution" toward a bibliography will continue to be indispensable to the student or collector.

A STEPHEN CRANE COLLECTION. By Herbert Faulkner West. Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Library. 1948. xiii, 30 pp.

A description of the one hundred and thirteen items of the Stephen Crane Collection in the Dartmouth College Library.

LEWIS LEARY.

FRANCIS LIEBER: *Nineteenth-Century Liberal.* By Frank Freidel. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. [1948.] xiv, 445 pp. \$4.50.

This new volume in the "Southern Biography Series" (which includes Harvey Wish's excellent *George Fitzhugh*) supersedes Thomas Sergeant Perry's hurried compilation, *The Life and Letters of Francis Lieber* (1882). Professor Freidel has made good use of the many Lieber letters in various American collections, and he has filled out as well as he could the story of Lieber's early life in Europe. Before coming to this country

in 1827 as an instructor in gymnastics, the youthful radical had made himself obnoxious to the Prussian authorities, fought with Blücher at Waterloo, gone to Greece to fight the Turks, come under the influence of the historian Barthold G. Niebuhr in Italy, and spent a short time in England. While living in Boston he compiled with some assistance from others the widely used *Encyclopaedia Americana*. He hoped for an appointment at Harvard which never came through, and he finally accepted a position in South Carolina College (now the state university). Problems of discipline irked him, and he was disappointed when he failed of election to the presidency of the College; but it was in Columbia that he produced his most important books, *Political Ethics* and *Civil Liberty*. In those days Southern colleges and universities gave greater emphasis to the study of political science than did Northern institutions. Irritated by slavery (he held a few slaves himself) and homesick for Boston though he was, Lieber finally lost all patience with the doctrinaire notions of his friend Charles Sumner, who willingly accepted as fact every Abolitionist charge against slavery. Lieber was a friend, too, of Longfellow, who wrote: "He is a strong man; and one whose conversation, like some tumultuous mountain brook, sets your wheels all in motion." In 1857 Lieber was called to Columbia College in New York. When the Civil War broke out, he became an active worker for the Union cause, but he was saddened by the fact that his son Oscar joined the Confederate Army and was later killed in Virginia. Lieber was not a highly original thinker, but he was versatile (he wrote verses in both English and German) and he was an adapter of the ideas of abler men. Professor Freidel points out his indebtedness to Edmund Burke, Niebuhr, Henry Hallam, Joseph Story, Chancellor Kent, and others.

MY LIFE AS A TEACHER. By John Erskine. Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company. [1948.] 249 pp. \$3.00.

In an earlier book, *The Memory of Certain Persons*, Mr. Erskine gave some account of his work as a teacher and administrator in Amherst College, Columbia University, the A.E.F. American university at Beaune in France, and the Juilliard School of Music. The new book supplements the older one in many places but does not change the essential story. Professor Erskine was an exceptionally stimulating teacher, as many living persons will testify, and it is clear from his account that he worked harder at his teaching than do most men. The reviewer gratefully remembers the course Erskine gave at Columbia which dealt with the influence of American literature in Europe. The book which was to be written on the subject was, as a result of the outbreak of the first World

War, never completed. Perhaps Erskine's most notable contribution to the teaching of literature was the idea and plan of the Great Books course, given at Columbia, St. John's, and other institutions. *My Life as a Teacher* closes with a blast (reprinted from the *New York Times*, June 3, 1945) at the Ph.D. degree program as administered in most American universities. In his account of his relations with Ashley H. Thorndike at Columbia University Professor Erskine seems to me lacking in sympathy and understanding for a fine scholar and—in spite of a perpetual scowl on his face—an admirable graduate teacher. For Erskine, his creative writing and his interest in music were, I suspect, matters of primary concern, and teaching, in spite of the thought and energy he expended upon it, of secondary importance—at least after the publication in 1925 of *The Private Life of Helen of Troy*.

THE MALADY OF THE IDEAL: *Obermann, Maurice de Guérin and Amiel*.

By Van Wyck Brooks. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1947. 88 pp. \$2.00.

This is the first American edition of an important early work first published in England in 1913 in an edition of only two hundred copies. The University of Pennsylvania Press has done well to make available to scholars and admirers of Brooks a rare book, the importance of which to Brooks's development is skilfully suggested in Robert E. Spiller's Preface to the First American Edition.

HUGH BLAIR. By Robert Morell Schmitz. New York: King's Crown Press. 1948. xii, 162 pp. \$2.75.

The Reverend Hugh Blair was not an American writer, but he was the author of a book which had a wide and long-continued influence upon speaking and writing in this country: *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, published in Edinburgh in 1783. Blair was not an original thinker, and he took a middle ground on most critical questions. He represents a sort of compromise between Neoclassicism and Romanticism, and the use of his book in this country probably accounts in part for the slowness with which new literary currents made their way. Dr. Blair was a notable champion of Ossian, but he did not fully appreciate the importance of Robert Burns. Dr. Schmitz has included an account of the Ossianic controversy and of Blair's part in it, and has supplied an excellent concise analysis of the *Lectures*.

THE STORY OF THE CONFEDERACY. By Robert Selph Henry. New and Revised Edition with a Foreword by Douglas Southall Freeman. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Publishers. [1948.] 514 pp. \$1.98.

Of this book, which was first published in 1931, Douglas Freeman remarks that it is "at present the book with which to begin one's study of the period it covers and the book to which to return when everything else on the subject has been read."

THE FAVORITE UNCLE REMUS. Selected, arranged, and edited by George Van Santvoord and Archibald C. Coolidge. [Boston]: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1948. x, 310 pp. \$3.00.

This centenary volume contains sixty well-chosen stories taken from seven volumes which originally appeared under the imprints of six publishers. A number of A. B. Frost's memorable illustrations are reproduced.

J. B. H.

A THOREAU GAZETTEER. By Robert F. Stowell. Calais, Vermont: The Poor Farm Press. 1948. [i], 5 pp., 8 maps. \$1.50.

Mr. Stowell has prepared a portfolio of maps of the Thoreau country, in effect a Thoreau atlas, brought together from a variety of sources. He includes a map of the Concord and Merrimack rivers, the Gleason map of Concord, the United States Geologic Survey reconnaissance map of Concord, Thoreau's own map of Walden Pond, Thoreau's map of Cape Cod, a map of the Maine Woods area, of the area of Canada which he visited, and of his Minnesota journey. Those maps which are reconstructions by Mr. Stowell are painstakingly done and, so far as can be presently determined, accurate. The *Gazetteer* will be a valuable acquisition to all students and collectors of Thoreau.

LEWIS LEARY.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Richard E. Amacher (Rutgers University), Ashbel Brice (Duke University), Herbert Brown (Bowdoin College), Horst Frenz (Indiana University), John C. Gerber (University of Iowa), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest Marchand (San Diego State College), Thomas F. Marshall (Western Maryland College), Roy Harvey Pearce (University of California), Henry F. Pommer (Cornell University), Thelma V. Smith (Temple University), Herman E. Spivey (University of Kentucky), and Frederick Tolles (Swarthmore College), with the co-operation of Roger M. Asselineau (University of Paris), Lars Åhnebrink (University of Upsala), and Sigmund Skard (University of Oslo).

Items for the check list to be published in the January, 1949, issue of *American Literature* should be sent to the chairman of the committee, Lewis Leary, Box 4633 Duke Station, Durham, N. C.

I. 1609-1800

[ADAMS, JOHN] Abele, Rudolph von. "The World of John Adams." *Am. Merc.*, LXVII, 66-73 (July, 1948).

A sketch of Adams's character and career: "he might be called the uncle of his country."

[BROWN, C. B.] Cole, Charles C., Jr. "Brockden Brown and the Jefferson Administration." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXXII, 253-263 (July, 1948).

Brown, in *Alcuin* (1797) a "radical of the Jeffersonian stamp," had become by the early 1800's "a caustic critic of Jefferson's administration."

[EDWARDS, JONATHAN] Davidson, Frank. "Three Patterns of Living." *A.A.U.P. Bul.*, XXXIV, 364-374 (Summer, 1948).

Edwards, Franklin, and Woolman left autobiographical expressions of their own patterns of living which can be adapted to our day.

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Davidson, Frank. "Three Patterns of Living." *A.A.U.P. Bul.*, XXXIV, 364-374 (Summer, 1948).

See EDWARDS above.

Leary, Lewis. "Joseph Dennie on Benjamin Franklin: A Note on Early

American Literary Criticism." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXXII, 240-246 (July, 1948).

The editor of the *Port Folio* found Franklin a "mischief" and a "foul disgrace" to his country, who had degraded its literature as well as its economics.

Kirkland, Frederic R. "Three Mecom-Franklin Letters." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXXII, 264-272 (July, 1948).

Letters from Franklin's sister, dated August 15, 1777, May 5, 1778, and December 26, 1782.

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Leary, Lewis. "Account of the Island of Bermuda." *Bermuda Hist. Quar.*, V, 54, 98-100 (May, 1948).

Freneau's description of Bermuda as found in the *United States Magazine*, I, 31-33 (June, 1779).

———. "Philip Freneau and Monmouth County." *Monmouth County Hist. Assn. Bul.*, I, 59-82 (July, 1948).

———. "Philip Freneau's Records of Sea Voyages." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, XI, 94-96 (June, 1948).

Marsh, Philip. "Philip Freneau and the Theatre." *Proc. N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LXVI, 96-105 (April, 1948).

Explains the development of Freneau's dramatic art and presents his arguments for a theater that "should teach republican principles . . . not glorify aristocracy."

[JEFFERSON, THOMAS] Bryan, Mina R. "Thomas Jefferson through the Eyes of His Contemporaries." *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chron.*, IX, 219-224 (June, 1948).

A Connecticut Yankee traveling in Virginia meets but does not recognize Jefferson; after an unsuccessful attempt at a horse-swap, he roasts the newly elected president. Other accounts mentioned include those of Bryant, Irving, and Daniel Webster.

[MUNFORD, ROBERT] Hubbell, Jay B., and Adair, Douglass. "Robert Munford's *The Candidates*." *Wm. and Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., V, 217-257 (April, 1948).

Edited with an introduction; the play, written in 1770, antedates Royall Tyler's *The Contrast*, and introduces an American Negro to drama for the first time.

[PAINE, THOMAS] Woodress, James L., Jr. "The 'Cold War' of 1790-1791: Documented by a Collection of Eighteenth-Century Pamphlets in the Duke University Library." *Duke Univ. Lib. Notes*, No. 20 (July, 1948), pp. 7-18.

[TUCKER, ST. GEORGE] Leary, Lewis. "St. George Tucker Attends the Theater." *Wm. and Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., V, 396-397 (July, 1948).

Riley, Edward M. "St. George Tucker's Journal of the Siege of Yorktown, 1781." *Wm. and Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., V, 375-395 (July, 1948).

The journal (which ends with two stanzas of original verse) is here printed entire for the first time.

[WOOLMAN, JOHN] Davidson, Frank. "Three Patterns of Living." *A.A.U.P. Bul.*, XXXIV, 364-374 (Summer, 1948).

See EDWARDS above.

Dagobert, Levie de. "John Woolman and the Brute Creation." *Friends Intelligencer*, CV, 235-236 (April 24, 1948).

Jones, Rufus M. "Evidences of the Influence of Quietism on John Woolman." *Friends Intelligencer*, CV, 131-132 (March 20, 1948).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Anon. "'Good Newes from Virginia, 1623.'" *Wm. and Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., V, 351-358 (July, 1948).

Reprints a rare broadside ballad.

Hart, James D. "A Puritan Bookshelf." *New Colophon*, I, 13-26 (Jan., 1948).

Reading and love of books among the New England colonists.

Hickey, Robert L. "Donne and Virginia." *PQ*, XXVI, 181-192 (April, 1947).

Land, Robert H. "The First Williamsburg Theater." *Wm. and Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., V, 359-374 (July, 1948).

Lipscomb, Hubert C. "Humanistic Culture in Early Virginia." *Class. Jour.*, XLIII, 203-208 (Jan., 1948).

Classical influences in literature, music, and the fine arts.

Marraro, H. R. "Italian Music and Actors in America during the Eighteenth Century." *Italica*, XXIII, 103-117 (June, 1946).

Pearce, T. M. "'Los Moros y Los Cristianos': Early American Play." *New Mexico Folklore Rec.*, II, 58-65 (June, 1948).

The text is printed in Spanish and in translation, with a discussion of its relation to early English and other Continental sword plays and dance plays.

Powell, William S. "Books in the Virginia Colony before 1624." *Wm. and Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., V, 177-184 (April, 1948).

Wright, Louis B. "Literature in the Colonial South." *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, X, 297-315 (May, 1947).

II. 1800-1870

[CARUTHERS, W. A.] Davis, Curtis Carroll. "A Virginia Romancer and His Reading: Literary Allusions in the Work of William A. Caruthers." *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XXX, 21-33 (July, 1948).

The literary references by Caruthers in his three novels and his periodical publications are listed, and some conclusions drawn.

- [DENNIE, JOSEPH] Leary, Lewis. "Joseph Dennie on Benjamin Franklin: A Note on Early American Literary Criticism." *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXXII, 240-246 (July, 1948).

See I, FRANKLIN, above.

- [EMERSON, R. W.] Adkins, Nelson F. "Emerson's 'Days' and Edward Young." *MLN*, LXIII, 269-271 (April, 1948).

Emerson's opening line may have been suggested by a passage from *Night Thoughts*, VIII.

- [HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Cohen, B. Bernard. "The Composition of Hawthorne's 'The Duston Family.'" *NEQ*, XXI, 236-242 (June, 1948).

- Pearce, Roy Harvey. "Hawthorne and the Twilight of Romance." *Yale Rev.*, XXVII, 487-506 (Spring, 1948).

The weakness of *The Marble Faun* seen in relation to Hawthorne's other works and to the decline of the romance in America.

- [HEWITT, J. H.] Hewitt, John Hill. "'Atlanta to the Sea.'" *Emory Univ. Quar.*, III, 248-251 (Dec., 1947).

Part of Canto III of Hewitt's poem, "War," only Canto I of which was published during the poet's lifetime.

- [IRVING, WASHINGTON] Beach, Leonard B. "Washington Irving." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 259-266 (Summer, 1948).

A re-evaluation: "The first great myth-maker (who was also the first great expatriate) experimented nobly with realism and romanticism in new proportions, studied our folk history, exploited the sovereign effects of humor, laid before readers for generations to come a simple, friendly philosophy of life and art."

- [LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Huebener, Theodore. "Longfellow's Estimate of Heine." *Ger. Quar.*, XXI, 117-119 (March, 1948).

Longfellow condemned the "Young Germans," particularly Heine.

- [LONGSTREET, A. B.] Gilbert, Creighton. "Emory Portraits II: Four Figures of the College Campus." *Emory Univ. Quar.*, IV, 40-54 (March, 1948).

Section III discusses an Emory portrait of Augustus B. Longstreet.

- [MELVILLE, HERMAN] Birss, John H. "'A Mere Sale to Effect' with Letters of Herman Melville." *New Colophon*, I, 239-255 (July, 1948).

Letters, 1846-1852, concerned with Melville's negotiations about London publication of his works.

- Brooks, Van Wyck. "Melville in the Berkshires." *Tiger's Eye*, I, 47-52 (Oct., 1947).

[POE, E. A.] Adkins, Nelson F. "'Chapter on American Cribbage': Poe and Plagiarism." *Papers Bibl. Soc. Am.*, XLII, 169-210 (Third Quar., 1948).

Poe's "concern with plagiarism represents a cardinal principle in his critical appraisals. It becomes, in reality, a way of testing the work of a literary artist in arriving at a final evaluation of his output."

Laser, Marvin. "The Growth and Structure of Poe's Concept of Beauty." *ELH*, XV, 69-84 (March, 1948).

The influence of Coleridge, phrenology, and Shelley.

Laverty, Carroll D. "Poe in 1847." *AL*, XX, 163-168 (May, 1948).

Anonymous reminiscences of a visit to Poe at Fordham by a school-girl, first printed in the *Home Journal*, July 21, 1860.

Mabbott, T. O. "Poe's *Ulalume*." *Expl.*, VI, 57 (June, 1948).

[THOREAU, H. D.] Adams, Raymond. "Emerson's House at Walden." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, No. 24 (July, 1948), pp. 2-6.

A paper read at the 1948 annual meeting of the Thoreau Society. Crowell, Reid. "Henry Thoreau at Walden Pond." *Classmate*, LV, 3-4 (Aug., 1948).

An interpretation for children in a Methodist Sunday School paper. Harding, Walter. "Additions to the Thoreau Bibliography." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, No. 23 (April, 1948), p. 4; No. 24 (July, 1948), p. 4.

———. "Gandhi and Thoreau." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, No. 23 (April, 1948), pp. 1-2.

Schultz, Howard. "A Fragment of Song in Thoreau's *Walden*." *MLN*, LXIII, 271-272 (April, 1948).

The verses beginning "There was a shepherd that did live," in Chapter II of *Walden*, appear in *The Muses Gardin for Delights, or the Fift Booke of Ayres* (1611), as song No. 9, author unknown.

Walker, Roy. "The Natural Life: An Essay on Thoreau." *Vegetarian News* (London), XXVI, 3-8 (Spring, 1948).

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Snyder, Edward D. "John Greenleaf Whittier to William J. Allinson." *Bul. Friends Hist. Assn.*, XXXVII, 17-35 (Spring, 1948).

Nineteen letters to a friend in Burlington, New Jersey.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Baskette, Floyd K. "Early Methodists and Their Literature." *Emory Univ. Quar.*, III, 207-216 (Dec., 1947).

An account of early nineteenth-century Methodist journalism and book publication, emphasizing "inexpensive works, wide distribution, and . . . appeal to all groups."

Bestor, Arthur E., Jr. "Education and Reform at New Harmony: Correspondence of William Maclure and Marie Duclos Fretageot, 1820-1833." *Indiana Hist. Soc. Pub.*, XV, 285-417 (1948).

Braden, Waldo W. "The Lecture Movement, 1840-1860." *Quar. Jour. Speech*, XXXIV, 206-212 (April, 1948).

Between 1840 and 1860 "the lyceum made the transition from the educational institution, popular in the thirties, to the post-Civil War lyceum sponsored by the lecture bureau."

Irrmann, Robert H. "The Library of an Early Ohio Farmer." *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quar.*, LVII, 185-193 (April, 1948).

Modern Chivalry was one of the few literary works in this collection.

Perry, Marvin, Jr. "Keats in Georgia." *Ga. Rev.*, I, 460-469 (Winter, 1947).

Romberg, Annie. "A Texas Literary Society of Pioneer Days." *Southwestern Hist. Quart.*, LII, 60-65 (July, 1948).

In the archives of the University of Texas are four issues of the *Prairie Blume*, the publication of a literary society which flourished in Fayette County in the late 1850's.

III. 1870-1900

[CABLE, G. W.] Butcher, Philip. "George W. Cable: History and Politics." *Phylon*, IX, 137-145 (Second Quar., 1948).

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Bergler, Edmund. "Exceptional Reaction to a Joke of Mark Twain." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 11-12 (Winter, 1947).

A Freudian explanation of the "shuddering silence" which followed Mark Twain's reference, at the G.A.R. convention in Chicago in 1879, to General Grant "trying to find some way to get his big toe into his mouth."

Booth, Bradford A. "Mark Twain's Friendship with Emma Beach." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 4-10 (Winter, 1947).

Identical with Mr. Booth's "Mark Twain's Friendship with Emeline Beach," *American Literature*, XIX, 219-230 (November, 1947).

Clemens, Cyril. "Twain's Southern Relative: Jeremiah Clemens." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 15-17 (Winter, 1947).

Feinstein, George W. "Mark Twain on the Immanence of Authors in Their Writing." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 13-14 (Winter, 1947).

Fiedler, Leslie. "Come Back to the Raft Ag'in, Huck Honey!" *Partisan Rev.*, XV, 664-671 (June, 1948).

American classics like *Two Years Before the Mast*, *Moby-Dick*, and *Huckleberry Finn* reveal an American myth—the excellence of boyhood and a potentially homosexual love between a Negro and a white.

Harrison, James G. "A Note on the Duke in 'Huck Finn': The Journey-

man Printer as a Picaro." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 1-2 (Winter, 1947).

McKeithan, D. M. "More about Mark Twain's War with English Critics of America." *MLN*, LXIII, 221-228 (April, 1948).

Supplements material in John B. Hoben, "Mark Twain's *A Connecticut Yankee*: A Genetic Study." *American Literature*, XVIII, 197-218 (November, 1946).

Vogelback, Arthur L. "Mark Twain: Newspaper Contributor." *AL*, XX, 111-128 (May, 1948).

In the decade following the publication of *The Innocents Abroad*, Clemens, an "incorrigible writer of letters to the press," wrote on "national affairs, shipwrecks, crime and punishment, social manners, public causes" in such a way as to show that he was not only a humorist but also a "skilled serious writer."

[CRANE, STEPHEN] Williams, Ames W. "A Stephen Crane Collection." *Antiq. Bookman*, I, 717-718 (May, 1948).

———. "Stephen Crane, War Correspondent." *New Colophon*, I, 113-124 (April, 1948).

To which is appended a check list of Crane's contributions in 1898 to the New York *World* and the New York *Journal*.

[DICKINSON, EMILY] Frank, Josef. "Emily Dickinson (1830-1881)." *Prisma*, VI, 21-23 (April, 1947).

Sewall, Richard B. "Dickinson's *To Undertake Is to Achieve*." *Expl.*, VI, 51 (June, 1948).

[HARRIS, J. C.] Dauner, Louise. "Myth and Humor in the Uncle Remus Fables." *AL*, XX, 129-143 (May, 1948).

An attempt to detect the "mythic properties" of the fables and to explore "some psychological sources of a humor which is so profoundly simple that it has the suggestive power of the subconscious itself."

[JAMES, HENRY] Auden, W. H. "Henry James and the Artist in America." *Harper's*, CXCVII, 36-40 (July, 1948).

Berti, Luigo. "Saggio su Henry James." *Inventario*, I, 78-88 (Autumn-Winter, 1946-1947).

Heilman, Robert. "'The Turn of the Screw' as Poem." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 277-289 (Summer, 1948).

In this story may be found "the Christian dualism of good and evil: this substance James has projected by poetic method into numerous details of symbolic language and action of which the implications may, in their subtlety, almost be missed. For, like all poetic statements, James's is not direct."

Qvamme, B. "Henry James." *Edda* (Oslo), XLIV, 73-85 (Jan.-June, 1944).

Specker, Heidi. "The Change of Emphasis in the Criticism of Henry James." *Eng. Stud.*, XXIX, 33-47 (April, 1948).

[Weber, Carl J.] "A Unique Henry James Item." *Colby Lib. Quar.*, II, 123 (April, 1948).

A privately printed copy of *The Point of View* (1882).

[LANIER, SIDNEY] Lamar, Mrs. W. D., et al. "Sidney Lanier Committee." *United Daughters of Confederacy Mag.*, XI, 8-9 (Feb., 1948).

A report of progress in memorializing the poet.

Woolen, Mrs. L. L. "Sidney Lanier." *United Daughters of Confederacy Mag.*, XI, 10-11 (Feb., 1948).

[McCLELLAND, M. G.] Holman, Harriet R. "Mary Greenway McClelland, 1853-1895." *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LVI, 294-298 (July, 1948).

Additional information about the Virginia novelist and Southern representative on the editorial staff of *Peterson's Magazine*.

[MITCHELL, S. W.] Hinsdale, Guy. "Recollections of Weir Mitchell." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, L, 248-254 (Summer, 1948).

[TABB, J. B.] Clemens, Cyril. "John Banister Tabb." *Catholic Dig.*, XI, 99-101 (Oct., 1947).

[WHITE, R. G.] Falk, Robert P. "Critical Tendencies in Richard Grant White's Shakespeare Commentary." *AL*, XX, 144-154 (May, 1948).

In his Shakespearean criticism, extending from 1850 to 1884, White attacked the extremes of romantic worship by stressing historical methods. His researches led him in time to excesses in his theory of Shakespeare the poet versus Shakespeare the businessman, "a third-rate money-making actor": "between what a man is and what he writes there is no necessary likeness."

[WHITMAN, WALT] Coleman, Rufus A. "Further Reminiscences of Walt Whitman." *MLN*, LXIII, 266-268 (April, 1948).

Two letters to J. T. Trowbridge concerning Whitman, one from J. H. Johnson (February 8, 1902), a New York jeweler and host to Whitman; the other from Charles W. Eldridge (Washington, D. C., April 12, 1902), junior partner of Thayer & Eldridge, Boston.

Frenz, Horst. "Walt Whitman's Letters to Karl Knortz." *AL*, XX, 155-163 (May, 1948).

Thirteen letters reprinted from Knortz's *Walt Whitman, der Dichter der Demokratie* (Leipzig, 1899).

Glicksberg, Charles I. "Walt Whitman Parodies: Provoked by the Third Edition of 'Leaves of Grass.'" *AN&Q*, VII, 163-168 (March, 1948).

Points of attack were Whitman's formlessness, "nastiness," conceit, egoism, and his cosmic gestures. There is some suspicion that Whitman may have written some of the parodies himself.

Sengfelder, Bernhard. "Walt Whitman." *Deutsche Rundschau* (Stuttgart), LXX, 108-114 (Nov., 1947).

A brief account of Whitman's life and thought.

Trent, Josiah C. "Walt Whitman—A Case History." *Surgery, Gynecology and Obstetrics*, LXXXVII, 113-121 (July, 1948).

A diagnostic study of Whitman's thirty years of ill health and the causes of his death: "Our revised and final diagnosis should read . . . : Pulmonary tuberculosis, far advanced, right; atelectasis of left lung; tuberculosis empyema, left; bronchopleural fistula, left; disseminated abdominal tuberculosis; tuberculous abscesses of sternum, fifth rib and left foot; cyst of left adrenal gland; chronic cholecystitis and cholelithiasis; cerebral atrophy; cerebral arteriosclerosis; benign prostatic hypertrophy; pulmonary emphysema; cloudy swelling of kidneys; history of hypertension (?)."

Williams, Mentor L. "Whitman Today." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 267-276 (Summer, 1948).

Between 1919 and 1929 "Whitman was hailed as the precursor of the modern, the free, the uninhibited"; the Great Depression prompted the discovery that he had a social conscience and message of great worth.

IV. 1900-1948

[AIKEN, CONRAD] Brown, Calvin S. "Music and Conrad Aiken." *Ga. Rev.*, II, 40-51 (Spring, 1948).

Aiken's poetry is closely analogous to music in the intricate use of repetition, variation, and contrast, in the approximation to the rondo form, in the employment of recurrent symbols and musical methods of thematic development.

[ANDERSON, SHERWOOD] Anderson, Karl James. "My Brother, Sherwood Anderson." *SRL*, XXXI, 6-7, 26-27 (Sept. 4, 1948).

Personal reminiscence, together with some important biographical data.

Hellesnes, Nils. "Sherwood Anderson, den einsame Amerikanaren." *Syn og Segn* (Oslo), LIII, 433-439 (Nov., 1947).

"Sherwood Anderson, the Lonely American."

[BRADFORD, GAMALIEL] Harris, Julia Collier. "An American Sainte-Beuve: Gamaliel Bradford." *Emory Univ. Quar.*, IV, 16-20 (March, 1948).

[BROOKHOUSER, FRANK] Beck, Warren. "After Sherwood Anderson: The Stories of Frank Brookhouser." *Univ. Kansas City Rev.*, XIV, 297-302 (Summer, 1948).

[CATHER, WILLA] Shively, James R. "Willia Cather Juvenilia." *Prairie Schooner*, XXII, 97-111 (Spring, 1948).

Miss Cather's writings during her student days at the University of Nebraska.

[CRANE, HART] Crane, Hart. "Lettere inedite a poesie scelte." *Inventario* I, 89-97 (Autumn-Winter, 1946-1947).

Three letters (May 16, 1922, June 12, 1922, and July 13, 1930) from Crane to Allen Tate discuss Crane's poetry and that of his contemporaries.

Ramsey, Warren. "Poesia e platonismo in Hart Crane." *Inventario*, I, 30-69 (Autumn-Winter, 1946-1947).

[DOS PASSOS, JOHN] Frohock, W. M. "John Dos Passos: Of Time and Frustration." *Southwest Rev.*, XXXIII, 170-179 (Spring, 1948).

"What Wolfe has done for the individual who has been frustrated and lost in his own country and swept helplessly along by time, Dos Passos has done for a whole nation."

[DREISER, THEODORE] Hellesnes, Nils. "Theodore Dreiser." *Syn og Segn* (Oslo), LIII, 116-120 (March, 1947):

Mencken, H. L. "The Life of an Artist." *New Yorker*, XXIV, 43-57 (April 17, 1948).

Reminiscence of Dreiser in Greenwich Village during the period of World War I.

[ELIOT, T. S.] Astre, Georges-Albert. "T. S. Eliot, poète spirituel." *Critique*, IV, 408-421 (May, 1948).

Blissett, William. "T. S. Eliot." *Canadian Forum*, XXVIII, 86-87 (July, 1948).

Flint, R. W. "The Four Quartets Reconsidered." *Sewanee Rev.*, LVI, 69-81 (Winter, 1948).

The *Four Quartets* are "a poet's attempt to enlighten and justify his whole spiritual climate": the import of Eliot's "message" is best epitomized in the lines from "The Dry Salvages" beginning "On whatever sphere of being."

Hernigman, Bernard. "Two Worlds and Epiphany." *Bard Rev.*, II, 156-159 (May, 1948).

A comparison of Eliot's *Four Quartets* and Wallace Stevens's *Ideas of Order*, *Parts of a World*, and *Transport to Summer*.

Hodin, J. P. "Bertrand Russell og T. S. Eliot om menneskehetens fremtid." *Samtiden* (Oslo), LVI, 78-89 (1947).

Mackworth, Cecily. "Visite à T. S. Eliot." *Paru*, No. 44 (July, 1948), pp. 11-13.

Pope, Myrtle Pihlman. Eliot's *Gerontion*. *Expl.*, XI [Q 16] (May, 1948).

Qvamme, B. "T. S. Eliot." *Edda* (Oslo), XLIII, 23-33 (Jan.-March, 1943).

Schoeck, R. J. "T. S. Eliot, Mary Queen of Scots, and Guillaume de Machaut." *MLN*, LXIII, 187-188 (March, 1948).

Smidt, Kristian. "Lyrikeren T. S. Eliot." *Spektrum* (Oslo), No. 4 (1947), pp. 181-197.

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Gordon, Caroline. "Notes on Faulkner and Flaubert." *Hudson Rev.*, I, 222-232 (Summer, 1948).

"The achievements of Flaubert and James constitute a challenge to all fiction writers who have come after them. Among contemporary American writers William Faulkner seems to have responded most fully to this challenge."

Johnson, C. W. M. "Faulkner's *A Rose for Emily*." *Expl.*, VI, 45 (May, 1948).

Smith, Bradley. "The Faulkner Country." '48, II, 85-94 (May, 1948).

[FERBER, EDNA] Forestier, Marie. "L'Amérique se penche sur son passé." *La Revue Nouvelle*, VIII, 92-95 (July-Aug., 1948).

A discussion of "Le Rêve américain" by Michael Forster, "Dans un coeur pur" by Ellen Glasgow, and "L'Arrière-petit-fils" by Edna Ferber.

[FORSTER, MICHAEL] Forestier, Marie. "L'Amérique se penche sur son passé." *La Revue Nouvelle*, VIII, 92-95 (July-Aug., 1948).

See FERBER above.

[FROST, ROBERT] Cook, Reginald L. "Poet in the Mountains." *Western Rev.*, XI, 175-181 (Spring, 1947).

The poet's mind as revealed in his conversation.

O'Donnell, W. G. "Robert Frost and New England: A Revaluation." *Yale Rev.*, XXXVII, 698-712 (Summer, 1948).

Frost matured greatly between *A Boy's Will* and *North of Boston*. He recognizes the loneliness and degeneracy of New England life, but sees also a remaining vitality, and in many poems he expresses universal experiences which make him more than a mere regionalist.

Thompson, Lawrance. "An Early Frost Broadside." *New Colophon*, I, 5-12 (Jan., 1948).

Adventures in discovering a unique roadside copy of "The Later Minstrel" (1907).

[GLASGOW, ELLEN] Forestier, Marie. "L'Amérique se penche sur son passé." *La Revue Nouvelle*, VIII, 92-95 (July-Aug., 1948).

[GORDON, CAROLINE] Ragan, David. "Portrait of a Lady Novelist." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 18-20 (Winter, 1947).

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Warren, Robert Penn. "Hemingway." *Die Amerikanische Rundschau*, III, 89-104 (Dec., 1947).

[HUBBARD, ELBERT] Hunter, David. "Elbert Hubbard and 'A Message to Garcia.'" *New Colophon*, I, 27-35 (Jan., 1948).

[LEONARD, W. E.] Duffy, Charles. "A Letter from Leonard to Charles Bulger." *Akron Alumnus* (July, 1948), n.p.

———. "W. E. Leonard's Annotations in a Copy of 'Poems, 1916-1917.'" *MLN*, LXIII, 185-187 (March, 1948).

[MAXWELL, WILLIAM] Coindreau, M. E. "William Maxwell." *Revue de Paris*, LV, 120-126 (Feb., 1948).

Coindreau protests against the notion (in France) that American literature is mainly brutal, ugly, and immature. He cites Maxwell as an example of a transitional writer who perpetuates the more refined tradition associated with Melville, Thoreau, and Emerson. He finds Maxwell's *The Folded Leaf* (1945) "le seul roman qui, à ma connaissance, donne une peinture exacte de la vie de collège aux Etats-Unis."

[MILLAY, E. ST. V.] Dickson, Arthur. "Millay's *Euclid Alone Has Looked on Beauty Bare*." *Expl.*, VI, 49 (May, 1948).

[MILLER, HENRY] Glicksberg, Charles I. "Henry Miller: Individualist in Extremis." *Southwest Rev.*, XXXIII, 289-295 (Summer, 1948).

[MOORE, MARIANNE] Moore, Marianne. "Selections from a Poet's Reading Diary." *Tiger's Eye*, I, 22-28 (Oct., 1947).

Williams, William Carlos, *et al.* Marianne Moore Issue. *Quar. Rev. Lit.*, IV, 125-223 (1948).

Critical notes and impressions by Williams, Elizabeth Bishop, John Crowe Ransom, Wallace Stevens, Louise Bogan, Vivienne Koch, J. L. Sweeney, Wallace Fowle, Cleanth Brooks, T. C. Wilson, George Dillon, and Lloyd Frankenberg.

[O'NEILL, EUGENE] Arestad, Sverre. "The Iceman Cometh and The Wild Duck." *Scand. Stud.*, XX, 1-11 (Feb., 1948).

Dobrée, Bonamy. "Mr. O'Neill's Latest Play." *Sewanee Rev.*, LVI, 118-126 (Winter, 1948).

The Iceman Cometh does not produce the taut awareness, the heightened sense of being generally associated with the best drama. The calm attained at the end "is not that of mind, all passions spent, because our passions have never been troubled."

Lamm, Martin. "Problem of Eugene O'Neill." *Bonniers Litterära Magasin*, XVI, 633-639 (Oct., 1947).

A re-evaluation of O'Neill's work in the light of *The Iceman Cometh*.

Lowell, John, Jr. "Eugene O'Neill's Darker Brother." *Theatre Arts*, XXXII, 45-48 (Feb., 1948).

The treatment of Negroes in O'Neill's plays.

Nathan, George Jean. "Eugene O'Neill nach Zwölf Jahren." *Prisma*, VIII, 45-46 (May, 1947).

[PATTEE, F. L.] Werner, William L. "Fred Lewis Pattee: Author, Scholar, Teacher." *Headlight on Books at Penn State*, XVII, 1-16 (June, 1948).

Including a check list of "The Pattee Collection: Library of American Literature" at Pennsylvania State College.

[PORTER, W. S.] Echols, Edward C. "O. Henry's 'Shaker of the Attic Salt.'" *Class. Jour.*, XLIII, 488-489 (May, 1948).

A note on Porter's debt to the classics.

[POUND, EZRA] Adams, Robert M. "A Hawk and a Handsaw for Ezra Pound." *Accent*, VIII, 205-214 (Summer, 1948).

"His basic neurosis has been that of being an American intellectual in the 20th century. The sincerity with which he has organized that neurosis is responsible for his seeming, and being, a madman."

Hauserman, H. W. "W. B. Yeats's Criticism of Ezra Pound." *Eng. Stud.*, XXIX, 97-109 (Aug., 1948).

Yeats's judgment carries weight "because it is founded upon knowledge of the man and on his own experience of artistic creation."

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Perrine, Laurence. "Robinson's *Tristram*." *Expl.*, VI, 44 (May, 1948).

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YOUNG HENRY JAMES, CRITIC

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THE REVIVAL of interest in the critical work of Henry James, evident in the recent publication of two discriminating selections from his reviews and essays,¹ has been long overdue. Heretofore, too few of us have been familiar with the great body of criticism which came from his prolific pen, particularly in his earlier years.² Even fewer of us have taken the time to give it the study and analysis it deserves.³

In the failure to do so we have been guilty of an oversight, for James's earlier critical writings are important. For the student of James they have a value beyond weighing. In embryonic form they hold the theories which produced James's later narrative techniques. The idea of the "germ," for instance, makes its first appearance something more than forty years before the *Prefaces*.⁴

¹ Morris Roberts, *The Art of Fiction and Other Essays by Henry James* (New York, 1948), and Allan Wade, *The Scenic Art* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1948).

² The complete list is to be found in LeRoy Phillips, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Henry James* (New York, 1930).

³ But three or four valuable studies must be acknowledged. The broadest in scope is Morris Roberts, *Henry James's Criticism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929). A more detailed study of the earlier criticism alone is available in Cornelia Pulsifer Kelley, *The Early Development of Henry James*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, XV (1930). Although Miss Kelley's primary interest is not in James as a critic, she looks to the books he reviewed for signs of influence upon him, and turns to the reviews he wrote for evidence of his own changing theories. Léon Edel, *The Prefaces of Henry James* (Paris, 1931), is a useful general study, and there is much of value in the more analytical introduction to Richard Blackmur, *The Art of the Novel: Critical Prefaces by Henry James* (New York, 1947); this introduction was also printed as an article in *Hound and Horn*, VII, 444-477 (April-May, 1943).

Less valuable, but still necessary to the serious student are the following: Van Wyck Brooks, "Henry James as a Reviewer," *Sketches in Criticism* (New York, 1932); George E. DeMille, "Henry James," *Literary Criticism in America* (New York, 1931); M. Sturges Gretton, "Mr. Henry James and His Prefaces," *Contemporary Review*, CI, 68-78 (Jan., 1918); Philip Littell, "Henry James as Critic," *New Republic*, I, 26-28 (Nov. 21, 1914); Edward Clark Marsh, "James: Auto-Critic," *Bookman* (N. Y.), XXX, 138-43 (Oct., 1909); Brander Matthews, "Henry James, Book Reviewer," *New York Times Book Review*, June 12, 1921; John G. Palache, "The Critical Faculty of Henry James," *University of California Chronicle*, XXVI, 399-410 (Oct., 1924); William Lyon Phelps, "Henry James, Reviewer," *Literary Review*, I, 4 (June 4, 1921); LeRoy Phillips, *Views and Reviews by Henry James* (Boston, 1908), Introduction; Pierre la Rose, *Notes and Reviews* (New York, 1921), Introduction.

⁴ "Goethe loved her, seduced her, left her, and carried away the germ of the story of Margaret . . ." ("Dumas and Goethe," *Nation*, XVII, 293, Oct. 30, 1873).

the principle of a central intelligence is clearly expressed in 1868, only three years after James had begun writing reviews;⁵ and, as Morris Roberts has pointed out, the concept of Romance expressed in them is essentially the same as that which appears much later in the Preface to *The American*.⁶

But it is not only to the student of James that these essays are important. They are of equal value to the student of American literature as a whole. For a decade and a half they must have been a powerful influence on American taste. Time and again the editors of the highly respected and widely read periodicals for which he wrote—the *North American Review*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and the *Nation*—assigned him the most important review of the issue, the one to which their readers would turn first. He reviewed as they came fresh from the presses the most recent novels of George Eliot, Victor Hugo, Trollope, Kingsley, and Dickens; the poetry of William Morris, Browning, and Tennyson; and the critical writings of Matthew Arnold, Scherer, and Swinburne. His readers would not have known whom they had to thank, for these early reviews went unsigned, but they could hardly have avoided the deep influence of his persuasive arguments.

Because of the very fact that the young James was important as a critic, I have examined his earlier criticism here, not in relation to his art, but simply as criticism. I have arbitrarily chosen a period beginning with his first published review in 1864 and terminating with the publication of *French Poets and Novelists* in 1878, and I have studied the reviews and essays he wrote in that period with the one intent of trying to understand what some of his basic critical principles were.

In the course of those fourteen years, James published more than 250 critical articles, the greater part of them reviews. In them he showed himself to be a most assured young critic.⁷ He sometimes

⁵ "In every human imbroglio, be it of a comic or a tragic nature, it is good to think of an observer standing aloof, the critic, the idle commentator of it all, taking notes, as we may say, in the interest of truth. The exercise of this function is the chief ground of our interest in Juan" ("The Spanish Gypsy, A Poem," *North American Review*, CVII, 633, Oct., 1868).

⁶ *The Art of Fiction*, p. x.

⁷ He said that Swinburne's critical writing was "simply ghastly—ghastly in its poverty of insight and its pretension to make mere lurid imagery do duty as thought" ("Swinburne's Essays," *Nation*, XXI, 74, July 29, 1875). As a result of this assurance, when James was wrong he was very wrong indeed. He said that the new author of *Far from the Madding Crowd* was only an imitator of George Eliot, and a poor one at that. He believed that *Linda Tressel* and *Nina Baletka, the Story of a Maiden of Prague* were anonymous works by Trollope, and the best he had yet written.

showed himself to be provincial.⁸ He wrote in a style direct, easy, and rapid, yet lucid and powerfully expressive—the style of a man whose ideas are clear-cut and integrated. Indeed, the most pronounced characteristic of these early essays is their unity of thought. The standards by which James judges have been carefully worked out; they fit together. He has taken his job seriously, and he has not come to it unprepared.

If anything, his system is too tight. It restricts him and makes him a narrow critic—a specialist in prose fiction and, to limit it still further, in the prose fiction of his own time. By far the greater part of his reviews and articles deals with novels of the mid-nineteenth century, and when he comes to poetry he is out of his element. He judged the sowing of the dragon's teeth at Colchis as "too complex and recondite a scene"⁹ for graceful poetic expression. Yet he liked it when he found it in Morris, and honestly said so, though he could not tell why. But when he dealt with Dickens, George Eliot, or contemporary French novelists, he spoke with an assurance which makes it very clear that he had thought out the problems of the critic and of his own function as a member of that brotherhood.

Direct statements of James's critical tenets come up again and again in these essays, most frequently, interestingly enough, in reviews of the least successful and the dullest books, where he seems to have felt free to leave the book behind and to fill the required space with his own speculations.¹⁰ One review which seems to have suggested much in this way was that of "Dallas Galbraith,"¹¹ in which he states his critical manifesto clearly and uncompromis-

⁸ "What California was, socially, fifteen years ago, we cannot say; but it certainly was not the headquarters of politeness, and we accordingly leave it to Mr. Sedley's tender mercies. But we are better qualified to judge of New York and Boston" ("Marian Rooke," *Nation*, II, 248, Feb. 22, 1866).

"... when a poet has secured for a hero a veritable prophet, with the bloom not yet rubbed off by literature, he has our heartiest congratulations. It perturbs our faith a little to learn that the prophet is Mr. Joe Smith, and the *dénouement* is to be the founding of Salt Lake City by Mr. Brigham Young; we reflect that there is a magic in association, and we are afraid we scent vulgarity in these . . . Mormonism we know to be a humbug, and rather a nasty one . . ." ("The Prophet, A Tragedy by Bayard Taylor," *North American Review*, CXX, 189, Jan., 1875).

⁹ "The Life and Death of Jason," *North American Review*, CV, 690 (Oct., 1867).

¹⁰ "We may frankly say that it strikes us as a ponderous failure; but it is an interesting failure as well, and it suggests a number of profitable reflections" ("Flaubert's Temptation of St. Anthony," *Nation*, XVIII, 365, June 4, 1874).

¹¹ *Nation*, VII, 330-331 (Oct. 22, 1868).

ingly. Even more valuable are his reviews of the works of other critics—Matthew Arnold, Sainte-Beuve, Scherer, and Swinburne—for not only do they lead him into revealing discussions of criticism and critical problems, but what he approves and disapproves in them is clear sign of what his own standards are.

The first of these evaluations of a brother critic is his review of Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, which appeared in the *North American Review* of July, 1865. That date puts it very early in James's critical career, his eighth publication, to be exact, and the first in which he dealt directly with the problems of the critic. It is, further, one of the most important, for in these early years the critic James owed more to Matthew Arnold than to any other.

The most basic of the ideas to appear in this essay is one which springs, in part at least, from James's own provincialism and his hatred of the vulgar, and which finds welcome support in Arnold's doctrine that the only salvation for the Philistine lies in learning to see life steadily and see it whole. It is the principle that the function of criticism is to exalt the importance of the ideal. Criticism deals with facts of course, must deal with them of necessity, but it deals with them disinterestedly, as Arnold said, and not for their sake alone. It deals with them for the sake of the truth in them, for it is only for the expression of truth that these facts exist.

. . . the great beauty of the critical movement advocated by Mr. Arnold is that in either direction its range of action is unlimited. It deals with plain facts as well as with the most exalted fancies; but it deals with them only for the sake of the truth which is in them, and not for *your* sake, reader, and that of your party. It takes *high ground*, which is the ground of theory. . . . We said just now that its duty was, among other things, to exalt, if possible, the importance of the ideal. We should, perhaps, have said the intellectual; that is, of the principle of understanding things. Its business is to urge the claims of all things to be understood. If this is its function in England, as Mr. Arnold represents, it seems to us that it is doubly its function in this country.¹²

It is obvious to anyone reading this early criticism that James did not always act upon this principle, but when he failed to do so the reason was simply that he found himself reviewing books which had very little in them to be understood, very little that admitted the critic to high ground; and when he found himself dealing with

¹² "Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*," *North American Review*, CL, 211 (July, 1865).

this kind of thing he simply gave up, and talked wearily to the Philistines in their own language.

We do not open his [Trollope's] books with the expectation of being thrilled, or convinced, or deeply moved in any way, and, accordingly, when we find one to be as flat as a Dutch landscape, we remind ourselves that we have wittingly travelled into Holland, and that we have no right to abuse the scenery for being in character. We reflect, moreover, that there are a vast number of excellent Dutchmen for whom this low-lying horizon has infinite charms. If we are passionate and egotistical, we turn our backs on them for a nation of irreclaimable dullards; but if we are critical and disinterested, we will endeavor to view the prospect from a Dutch stand-point.¹³

Whatever it might become in practice, ideally the primary function of the critic was for James, as it was for Arnold, to perceive truth. But James differed from Arnold as to how that truth was to be apprehended. For him it was far less a matter of touchstones and far more a matter of intellect, and he perceived this difference and expressed it. Arnold, he said, unquestionably had feeling and observation, but these alone are not enough, and they may even be secondary.

He has these qualities, at any rate, of a good critic, whether or not he have the others,—the science and the logic. It is hard to say whether the literary critic is more called upon to understand or to feel. It is certain he will accomplish little unless he can feel acutely; although it is perhaps equally certain that he will become weak the moment he begins to "work," as we may say, his natural sensibilities. The best critic is probably he who leaves his feelings out of account, and relies upon reason for success.¹⁴

The admission here that feeling might challenge understanding as the primary faculty of the critic and the statement that it is a hard choice between them are, I think, largely the rhetorical device of minor concessions. James seems to present them only to assert more strongly the importance of the understanding. He has no trouble in deciding against feeling elsewhere. For him criticism is a rational process, and he cannot easily think of it otherwise. When he finds himself reviewing something which has moved him, yet which he does not fully understand, he is at a loss. Both Kipling

¹³ "The Belton Estate," *Nation*, II, 22 (Jan. 4, 1866).

¹⁴ "Arnold's Essays in Criticism," p. 208.

and Morris leave him saying that he has been deeply stirred but does not know why, and it is obvious that this is a critical position which James finds most uncomfortable. Indeed, a lack of reasonable understanding is the most severe charge he can bring against a critic, and ten years after the Arnold review he brings it against Swinburne:

His book is not at all a book of judgement; it is a book of pure imagination. His genius is for style simply, and not in the least for thought nor for real analysis; he goes through the motions of criticism, and makes a considerable show of logic and philosophy, but with deep appreciation his writing seems to us to have very little to do. . . . He is an imaginative commentator, often a very splendid guide, but he is never a real interpreter, and rarely a trustworthy guide.¹⁵

In charging it against Swinburne that he was no real interpreter and hardly a trustworthy guide, James would seem to imply that he thought it a primary function of the critic to interpret a work of art to those of less perception and less ability to understand than he. Perhaps; but James feels so pronounced a hatred of the vulgar and expresses it so strongly that he gives the impression that this understanding which the critic seeks is more his own understanding than teaching of his readers. If they do not follow him, if they do not learn from him, that is hardly his fault. For James the critic is not a zealot, not a crusader, not a missionary.

When you lay down a proposition which is forthwith controverted, it is of course optional with you to take up the cudgels in its defense. If you are deeply convinced of its truth, you will perhaps be content to leave it to take care of itself; or, at all events, you will not go out of your way to push its fortunes; for you will reflect that in the long run an opinion often borrows credit from the forbearance of its patrons. In the long run, we say; it will meanwhile cost you an occasional pang to see your cherished theory turned into a football by the critics. . . . Unless, therefore, you are very confident of your ability to rescue it from the chaos of kicks, you will best consult its interest by not mingling in the game.¹⁶

This idea that truth will make its own way, that it will succeed without favoritism or assistance, is no mere escapism on James's part. It is, instead, another facet of the disinterestedness he had

¹⁵ "Swinburne's Essays," *Nation*, XXI, 73 (July 29, 1875).

¹⁶ "Arnold's Essays in Criticism," p. 207.

learned from Matthew Arnold, and he stresses its importance again and again.

Of all men who deal with ideas, the critic is essentially the least independent; it behooves him, therefore, to claim the utmost possible incidental or extrinsic freedom. His subject and his stand-point are limited beforehand. He is in the nature of his function *opposed* to his author, and his position, therefore, depends upon that which his author has taken. If, in addition to his natural and proper servitude to his subject, he is shackled with a further servitude, outside of his subject, he works at a ridiculous disadvantage. This outer servitude may either be to a principle, a theory, a doctrine, a dogma, or it may be to a party. . . .¹⁷

Only with this disinterestedness is the critic left free to practice that even-handed, almost ruthless justice which we see James himself administering in the reviews of this early period. Unfortunately, at the same time that it liberates him, this concept also reduces the critic's importance; for if truth will make its own way regardless of the opposition against it, there would seem to be no necessity for the critic to exist in order to preach and support it.

It is this very circumstance, we think—the fact that when a book is of decided ability it gets a fair hearing and pushes its own fortune—that makes it natural and proper to criticise it freely and impartially. The day of dogmatic criticism is over, and with it the ancient infallibility and tyranny of the critic. No critic lays down the law, because no reader receives the law ready made. The critic is simply a reader like all the others—a reader who prints his impressions.¹⁸

One is led, of course, to this admission that the critic is nothing but a printing reader, if one makes the critic, as James did, largely an individual searcher after understanding, rather than an interpreter and a teacher. The premise can lead only to a negative evaluation of criticism. Ten years later he wrote: "Art is one of the necessities of life; but even the critics themselves would probably not assert that criticism is anything more than an agreeable luxury—something like printed talk."¹⁹

But James's view of the critic is not purely negative; he does not mean that the critic serves only his own function, that his only purpose is to reach understanding within and for himself. True,

¹⁷ "A French Critic," *Nation*, I, 469 (Oct. 12, 1865).

¹⁸ "Dallas Galbraith," *Nation*, VII, 331 (Oct. 22, 1868).

¹⁹ "Notes on Whistler and Ruskin," *Nation*, XXVIII, 119 (Feb. 13, 1879).

that is for James one of the reasons why a man engages in the critical process, but beyond that is the fact that truth is a sum of many opinions, of which his is one. The critic may no longer be dictator, but he is a contributor, and as such it is his responsibility to make his contribution clearly and emphatically.

Public opinion and public taste are silently distilled from a thousand private affirmations and convictions. No writer pretends that he tells us the whole truth; he knows that the whole truth is a great synthesis of the great body of small partial truths. But if the whole truth is to be pure and incontrovertible, it is needful that the various contributions to it be thoroughly firm and uncompromising. The critic reminds himself, then, that he must be before all things clear and emphatic.²⁰

Singularly, it is here that feeling and sentiment, heretofore so rigorously excluded, do come in and fill their places. For though, in the process of evaluation, sentiment is dangerous and feeling only a substitute for reasonable understanding, yet once that understanding has been achieved sentiment is of inestimable value in expressing it. Sentiment can "seize upon a shade of truth and convey it with a directness which is not at the command of logical demonstration." Sentiment and feeling, in short, should be used sparingly by the critic, if at all, in evaluating a work; but they are invaluable aids when it comes to contributing his share to that great body of partial truths which is the whole truth.

We come full circle, then, to the idea with which we began, the idea that the function of the critic is to understand truth. That, obviously, is the keystone of James's whole theory, and what he meant by truth determines to a large extent the soundness of his entire critical doctrine. What he meant by it is, if not defined, at least further limited in his essay on Scherer:

The philosopher's function is to compare a work with an abstract principle of truth; the critic's is to compare a work with itself, with its own concrete standard of truth. The critic deals, therefore, with parts, the philosopher with wholes.²¹

And, since the function of the critic is to compare a work with itself, with its own standard of truth, "The critic's first duty in the presence of an author's collective works is to seek out some key to

²⁰ "Dallas Galbraith," p. 330.

²¹ "A French Critic," p. 469.

his method, some utterance of his literary convictions, some indication of his ruling theory."²² The *Prefaces* are clear testimony that this critical tenet remained with James to the end; for their purpose is manifestly to give to the reader "some key to his method, some utterance of his literary convictions, some indication of his ruling theory" and then to leave it to the reader to act as his own judge of the extent to which the author has succeeded or failed.

It is, of course, sound criticism to watch the author's intent, but James does not take the position that the only truth which the critic must understand is the author's truth. He does not reduce the critic to a mere mathematician, subtracting the writer's achievement from his intent, and announcing, mechanically, the result. When we remember that in his essay on Matthew Arnold, James had equated, in the same breath, the principle of understanding things with that of exalting the ideal, it is obvious that there was for him some standard outside the work of art by which the critic is to judge. That standard he found, as did his fellow critics of his time, in an appeal to the critic's moral sense—to his conscience.

But as a critic, quite as much as any other writer, must have what M. Scherer calls an inspiration of his own, must possess a *unit* of sincerity and consistency, he finds it in his conscience. It is on this basis that he preserves his individuality, or, if you like, his self-respect. It is from this moral sense, and, we may add, from their religious convictions, that writers like Scherer derive that steadfast and delicate spiritual force which animates, coordinates, and harmonizes the mass of brief opinions, of undeveloped assertions, of conjectures, of fancies, of sentiments, which are the substance of this work.²³

This concept of the moral response on the part of the critic, this appeal to conscience, is no mumbled creed with the early James; on the contrary, it is a living standard for his own judgments. His highest praise is cast in these terms. Mrs. Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters* is destined to attain the immortality of a classic because of "her social and moral knowledge" for which, so deep it runs, he feels his praise is all too little thanks. To our time George Sand seems a little less at home in the garb, but he assigns it to her as easily as to Mrs. Gaskell. Among her great virtues is "a moral maturity." And of Scherer, who he said in 1865 was "a solid embodi-

²² "The Novels of George Eliot," *Atlantic Monthly*, XVIII, 479 (Oct., 1866).

²³ "A French Critic," p. 469.

ment of Mr. Arnold's ideal critic" (and, we might add, a solid embodiment of young Mr. James's as well), he said:

But we prefer him [to Sainte-Beuve] because his morality is positive without being obtrusive; and because, besides the distinction of beauty and ugliness, the aesthetic distinction of right and wrong, there constantly occurs in his pages the moral distinction between good and evil; because, in short, we salute in this fact that wisdom which, after having made the journey round the whole sphere of knowledge, returns at last with a melancholy joy to morality.²⁴

The assumption of world-weariness in this last sentence may provoke a smile when we remember it was written by a young man of twenty-two, but that in no wise negates the fact that for this young man the moral judgment was the final, the most important judgment that the critic passed.

But James's concept of the moral in art was nothing so broad as simply the ethically good opposed to the ethically bad. It was, instead, a very precise concept, so carefully limited that he seldom found it to his satisfaction in the books he reviewed, so precise that we can best understand what he meant by a process of elimination—by looking at some of the many cases of what he thought was clearly not morality.

Morality was, for one thing, not sentimentality or didacticism. There was nothing James disliked so much as the book with an obvious moral, the kind of thing God-fearing parents picked out for their children.

They offer neither the best history, the best piety, nor the best fiction, but they appeal to a public which has long since become reconciled to compromise—that extensive public, so respectable in everything but its literary taste, which patronizes what is called "Sunday reading."²⁵

Reviewing one book in which a very wise and very good and very unreal little girl served as a continual mouthpiece for the pious thoughts of her author, James chalked the whole off as "sentimental in cold blood." What he objected to in this kind of thing was the patent untruthfulness of it.

There is something almost awful in the thought of a writer undertaking to give a detailed picture of the actions of a perfectly virtuous being. . . .

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ "The Schönberg-Cotta Family," *Nation*, I, 344-345 (Sept. 14, 1865).

Miss Muloch . . . gives us the impression of having always looked at men and women through a curtain of rose-colored gauze. This impediment to a clear and natural vision is nothing more, we conceive, than her excessive sentimentality. Such a defect may be but the exaggeration of a virtue, but it makes sad work in Miss Muloch's tales. It destroys their most vital property—their appearance of reality; it falsifies every fact and every truth it touches; and, by reaction, it inevitably impugns the writer's sincerity.²⁶

But if sentiment and didacticism fail of moral depth because they are untrue, it does not for a minute follow that moral depth is to be found in their converse—realistic fiction. On the contrary, James brought an unrelenting charge of moral superficiality against the French realists.

The common aim of French *littérateurs* at the present moment seems to be to out-do Juvenal on his own line, and M. Feydeau has bent his bow last, and, we may say, shot furthest. It is hardly needful to say that his story is a tale of the seventh commandment, as that injunction is handled in French fictitious literature. It is filled with all manner of indecent episodes, and it terminates in an incident so monstrous that its exact nature is not even hinted to us. . . .

. . . to the average French mind the sentimental portions of M. Feydeau's narrative will doubtless seem very natural and touching. Even to such a reader, however, they must yield in reality and interest to the more repulsive portions. So long as the exploits of vice are so clearly described, so long will books of this class continue to be read for their pictures of vice.²⁷

Morality, then, is neither sentiment nor realism. Neither is it history.

If there is one thing that history does not teach, it seems to us, it is just this very lesson. What strikes an attentive student of the past is the indifference of events to man's moral worth or worthlessness. What strikes him, indeed, is the vast difficulty there is in deciding upon men's goodness and their turpitude. . . . In history it is impossible to view individuals singly. . . . To judge them morally we are obliged to push our enquiry through a concatenation of causes and effects in which, from their delicate nature, enquiry very soon becomes impracticable, and thus we are reduced to talking sentiment. Nothing is more surprising than the alertness with which writers like Mr. Froude are ready to pronounce

²⁶ "A Noble Life," *Nation*, II, 276 (March 1, 1866).

²⁷ "The Manners of the Day" in Paris," *Nation*, VI, 73 (Jan. 23, 1866).

upon the moral character of historical persons, and their readiness to make vague moral epithets stand in lieu of real psychological facts.²⁸

Our clue to a positive understanding of what James meant by moral depth in fiction lies in that last suggestion that too often "vague moral epithets stand in lieu of real psychological facts." In a review of another of those French novelists he expressed more clearly still this idea that the only morality in fiction is to be found in psychological realism and in the study of the human personality in all its complexity:

The author, indeed, has aimed at making it something more—at writing a work with a high moral bearing. In this we think he has signally failed. To stir the reader's moral nature, and to write with truth and eloquence the moral history of superior men and women, demand more freedom and generosity of mind than M. Feuillet seems to us to possess. Like those of most of the best of the French romancers, his works wear, morally, to American eyes, a decidedly thin and superficial look. Men and women, in our conception, are deeper, more substantial, more self-directing; they have, if not more virtue, at least more conscience; and when conscience comes into the game, human history ceases to be a perfectly simple tale. M. Feuillet is not in the smallest degree a moralist, and, as a logical consequence, M. de Camors is a most unreal and unsubstantial character.²⁹

Morality in fiction, then, is the morality of intelligent, complex characters clearly portrayed. Saints, as James says when discussing good Boston men and women in a review of Eugénie de Guérin's *Letters*, are innocent but complex. They are not ignorant, and they cannot well be, for if ignorant they are not moral characters, but pious ones. Even Mlle de Guérin is such an empty, pious figure. "There is something very pathetic in the intellectual penury with which [she] had to struggle."³⁰

It is evident to readers of the *Prefaces* that, although James never abandoned the belief that the clear portrayal of complex character is the primary function of the novelist, he ceased to speak of it as morality. There is obviously a shift in emphasis, and that shift begins to be evident in the reviews of the mid-1870's. It may have risen in part from James's constant reaching for more precise prin-

²⁸ "Mr. Froude's Short Studies," *Nation*, V, 351 (Oct. 31, 1867).

²⁹ "Camors," *Nation*, VII, 92-93 (July 30, 1868).

³⁰ "The Letters of Eugénie de Guérin," *Nation*, III, 206 (Sept. 13, 1866).

ciples than contented many of his contemporaries. Certainly it also rose from the fact that as James wrote more and more fiction and less and less criticism, he found his principles being tested, and considerably tempered, in the fire of his own practice.

This mutual modification of practice by principle and of principle by practice is clearly evident in *Roderick Hudson*. Written in 1875, *Roderick Hudson* was, if we exclude *Watch and Ward* as James would have us, his first full-fledged novel. The story of an artist, it reflects, both in what it does and in what it says directly, much of James's thinking about the problems of the artist, and particularly about the problem of morality.

The idea that saints are complex, that mere virtue if linked with intellectual penury is nothing more than a pathetic piety, comes clear early in the book when Rowland Mallett and Roderick Hudson discuss Miss Garland. Rowland is obviously speaking for James.

"Why, she's a stern moralist [says Hudson], and she would infer from my appearance that I have become a gilded profligate. . . ."

"Shall you think I take a liberty," asked Rowland, "if I say you judge her superficially?"

"For heaven's sake," cried Roderick laughing, "don't tell me she's not a moralist! It was for that I fell in love with her—and with rigid virtue in her person."

"She is a moralist, but not, as you imply, a narrow one. That's more than a difference in degree; it's a difference in kind. I don't know whether I ever mentioned it, but I have a great notion of Miss Garland. There is nothing narrow about her but her experience; everything else is large. My impression is that she is very intelligent, but that she has never had a chance to prove it. Some day or other I am sure she will judge fairly and wisely of everything."

"Stay a bit!" cried Roderick; "you are a better Catholic than the Pope. I shall be content if she judges fairly of me—of my merits, that is. The rest she must not judge at all. . . ."³¹

This misconception of morality in *Roderick Hudson* is an essential part of his failure. It leads to the prophetic irony of his remark when he first sees Christina Light: "If beauty is immoral, as people

³¹ *Roderick Hudson* (London, 1883), I, 66. When James prepared *Roderick Hudson* for the New York Edition, he made many pronounced changes in such passages as this. Those changes reveal much of the older James, but we are dealing with the young James here, and my quotations are, therefore, from the most easily available of the earlier editions.

think at Northampton," said Roderick, "she is the incarnation of evil."³² And it leads to his rebellious theory that the artist should be a law unto himself, to his insistence that he is free of moral standards, even when judged by Mary Garland and Rowland Mallett. In so far as Hudson has freed himself from the Northampton idea of beauty, he has his author's sympathies. Certainly when he completely shocks Mr. Leavenworth, a rather heavily drawn Philistine, by doing a statue of a drunken lazzarone, he has James behind him. But when he expresses his doctrine of moral irresponsibility, James is not behind him:

"I think that when you expect a man to produce beautiful and wonderful works of art you ought to allow him a certain freedom of action, you ought to give him a long rope, you ought to let him follow his fancy and look for his material wherever he thinks he may find it! . . . You demand of us to be imaginative, and you deny us the things that feed the imagination. In labour we must be as passionate as the inspired; in life we must be mere machines. It won't do! When you have got an artist to deal with, you must take him as he is, good and bad together."³³

Actually, James cannot help betraying doubts in this book. That is natural enough, for he wrote it while many of these basic ideas were in transition. Often he seems to be not quite sure. Even Rowland Mallett suspects that the artist should enjoy a certain moral exemption.

He wondered gloomily, at any rate, whether for men of his companion's large easy power there was not a larger moral law than for narrow mediocrities like himself, who, yielding Nature a meagre interest on her investment (such as it was), had no reason to expect from her this affectionate laxity as to their accounts.³⁴

But in spite of Rowland Mallett's doubts, James's strong sense of the importance of morality in art forces the book to become essentially a story of moral degeneration. The important point is that it is not a moral degeneration in the Philistine sense. Roderick Hudson breaks none of the ten commandments; he commits not so much as a single act for which he could be tried in any court of law. He is simply unstable and irresponsible. His personality is unintegrated; it does not fit together as an intelligent, complex

³² *Roderick Hudson*, p. 73.

³³ *Roderick Hudson*, p. 167.

³⁴ *Roderick Hudson*, I, 142.

whole. That he should be so portrayed is natural enough, for by the mid-seventies morality was coming to be for James more and more a matter of complex, refined personality.

Hints of the change are evident, even before *Roderick Hudson*, in the reviews of 1874 and 1875. The review of "School for Scandal" which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in December of 1874, is, if it is by James,³⁵ one of the most direct early expressions of this dissatisfaction with the conventional critical standard of morality.

We are inclined to think . . . that it does seriously matter whether even uncultivated minds are entertained in good taste or in bad. Our point would be simply that it matters rather less than many of the people interested in the moral mission of art are inclined to admit. We are by no means sure that art is very intimately connected with a moral mission. . . .³⁶

And the clearest expression of it, if we may step twelve years ahead, appears in "The Art of Fiction." There, more precisely than ever before, James expresses the doubts and questions to which this principle of morality has led him. And, faced with them, he comes back to that principle which, as we have seen before, he never doubted, the principle of the author's achievement and his intent:

The most interesting part of Mr. Besant's lecture is unfortunately the briefest passage—his very cursory allusion to the "conscious moral purpose" of the novel. . . . It is a question surrounded with difficulties, as witness the very first that meets us, in the form of a definite question, on the threshold. Vagueness, in such a discussion, is fatal, and what is the meaning of your morality and your conscious moral purpose? Will you not define your terms and explain how (a novel being a picture) a picture can be either moral or immoral? You wish to paint a moral picture or carve a moral statue: will you tell us how you would set about it? We are discussing the Art of Fiction; questions of art are questions

³⁵ Authorship has been challenged by Edna Kenton. See Wade, *op. cit.*, p. 20 n. Wade believes there is not sufficient evidence to throw it out of the canon. The reader of James's reviews of 1874, '75, and '76 will find the same tone, sometimes less positively expressed, running through them. James is saying much less of morality and much more of technical skill. "In fact, we suspect that moralizing too rigidly here is a waste of ingenuity . . ." ("Notes on the Theatres," *Nation*, XXI, 178-179, March 11, 1875). And he no longer feels that morality is essential to success in a novel: ". . . not to be sentimental, not to be moral, not to be rhetorical, but to have simply a sort of gentlemanly, epicurean relish for the bitterness of the general human lot, and to distil it into little polished silver cups—this was Merimee's conscious effort, and this was his rare success" ("Prosper Merimee," *Nation*, XVIII, 111, Feb. 12, 1874).

³⁶ "The Drama," *Atlantic Monthly*, XXXIV, 755 (Dec., 1874).

(in the widest sense) of execution; questions of morality are quite another affair, and will you not let us see how it is that you find it so easy to mix them up? . . . To what degree a purpose in a work of art is a source of corruption I shall not attempt to inquire. The one that seems to me least dangerous is the purpose of making a perfect work. . . .

There is one point at which the moral sense and the artistic sense lie very near together; that is in the light of the very obvious truth that the deepest quality of a work of art will always be the quality of the mind of the producer. In proportion as that intelligence is fine will the novel, the picture, the statue partake of the substance of beauty and truth. To be constituted of such elements is, to my vision, to have purpose enough.³⁷

The young Henry James was, then, primarily a critic, and there is reason to believe he was a much more influential one than we have hitherto suspected. Long before his name as author gave weight to his opinions as judge, he was quietly evaluating great writers in the most widely read and most respected literary periodicals of his time. He was certainly a careful and systematic critic. Although he borrowed much from Matthew Arnold, he did not borrow without qualifying nor without reaching for a greater precision of thought. He perceived a sharp distinction between judging a work within itself and judging it against an absolute standard, and in his need for such an absolute he accepted, for a time, the contemporary yardstick of morality. Then, as he labored to make this concept, too, more precise, and as he faced the problem of applying it in his own writing, he found himself thinking of morality as intellect; and the basic purpose of the artist, as he conceived it, became essentially the portrayal of complex, refined personality. James's whole history is a process of clarification of thought, a story of increasingly precise principles. He would never have been the novelist he was without the schooling of the earlier criticism, and without the novels he would never have been the critic he showed himself to be in the *Prefaces*.

³⁷ "The Art of Fiction," *Partial Portraits* (London and New York, 1894), pp. 404-406.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AND "THE TURN OF THE SCREW"

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READERS OF HIS letters and Prefaces will recall that Henry James ascribed the germinal idea of "The Turn of the Screw" to an anecdote told him by Edward White Benson, a fragment of a tale "dealing . . . with a couple of small children in an out-of-the-way place, to whom the spirits of certain 'bad' servants, dead in the employ of the house, were believed to have appeared with the design of 'getting hold' of them."¹ Benson's death two years before the story was written precluded the chance of confirmation, but his sons have questioned the accuracy of the ascription. "My father took a certain interest in psychical matters," wrote A. C. Benson, "but we have never been able to recollect any story which could have provided a hint for so grim a tale."² E. F. Benson was also present during James's visit to Addington, his father's house, in January, 1895, the occasion on which the Archbishop is supposed to have related the anecdote. "But the odd thing," he remarks, "is that to all of us it ["The Turn of the Screw"] was absolutely new, and neither my mother, nor my brother nor I had the faintest recollection of any tale of my father's which resembled it."³ A recent investigator, Robert Lee Wolff, concludes that this testimony makes it "difficult to accept at face value James's account of the genesis of the story."⁴ Mr. Wolff finds a partial solution to the puzzle in a new source, a picture entitled "The Haunted House," published in the same number of an illustrated London review that contained one of James's earlier ghost stories. After adducing proof that James saw this picture, Mr. Wolff points out striking similarities between the details of the picture and of the story. He

¹ Preface to *The Novels and Tales of Henry James*, the New York Edition (New York, 1907-1917), XII, xv. All subsequent references to "The Turn of the Screw" and to its Preface are to this edition. The "distinguished host" referred to in this Preface is identified in a letter from James to A. C. Benson, March 11, 1898. See *The Letters of Henry James*, ed. Percy Lubbock (New York, 1920), I, 278-280.

² "Henry James," *Cornhill Magazine*, n. s. XL, 512 (April, 1916).

³ *As We Were: A Victorian Peep Show* (London, 1930), p. 278.

⁴ "The Genesis of 'The Turn of the Screw,'" *American Literature*, XIII, 5 (March, 1941).

does not, however, entirely disallow James's version of origin; he merely suggests that the picture might have been involved in the development of the story: "To its vivid pictorial impression [James] was able, perhaps subconsciously, to add whatever nucleus of anecdote had been supplied by Archbishop Benson."⁵

Since the appearance of Mr. Wolff's essay, new evidence has come to light in the recently published *Notebooks of Henry James*. An entry dated "Saturday, January 12th, 1895" supports the later testimony of the letters and Preface, and gives the most accurate account we have had thus far of the extent of James's indebtedness to Benson's anecdote:

Note here the ghost-story told me at Addington (evening of Thursday 10th), by the Archbishop of Canterbury: the mere vague, undetailed, faint sketch of it—being all he had been told (very badly and imperfectly), by a lady who had no art of relation, and no clearness: the story of the young children (indefinite number and age) left to the care of servants in an old country-house, through the death, presumably, of parents. The servants, wicked and depraved, corrupt and deprave the children; the children are bad, full of evil, to a sinister degree. The servants *die* (the story vague about the way of it) and their apparitions, figures, return to haunt the house *and* children, to whom they seem to beckon, whom they invite and solicit, from across dangerous places, the deep ditch of a sunk fence, etc.—so that the children may destroy themselves, lose themselves, by responding, by getting into their power. So long as the children are kept from them, they are not lost; but they try and try and try, these evil presences, to get hold of them. It is a question of the children 'coming over to where they are.' It is all obscure and imperfect, the picture, the story, but there is a suggestion of strangely gruesome effect in it. The story to be told—tolerably obviously—by an outside spectator, observer.⁶

It is possible that in two days the active and fertile imagination of Henry James had already begun a transformation of the Archbishop's anecdote that was eventually to make the story unrecognizable to his sons, but it is unlikely that memory should have failed, in so short a time, to assign the anecdote to its proper source.

Although this note removes all doubt regarding the source of the original idea for the story, it does not invalidate Mr. Wolff's

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶ *The Notebooks of Henry James*, ed. F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock (New York, 1947), pp. 178-179.

suggestion that James might have drawn details from other sources, for the note is, as James remarks, "the mere vague, undetailed, faint sketch" of a ghost story, and "The Turn of the Screw" was not written until more than two years later. One possible and very likely source of inspiration, first mentioned many years ago by the late Dorothy Scarborough, has apparently escaped serious notice. In support of her contention that the publications of the Society for Psychical Research were a fountainhead for writers of ghost stories at the turn of the century, Miss Scarborough asserted that "Henry James based his ghost story, 'The Turn of the Screw,' on an incident reported to the Psychical Society [*sic*], of a spectral old woman corrupting the mind of a child."⁷ No authority is given for this interesting assertion, which, in the light of evidence that has appeared since Miss Scarborough wrote, now seems erroneous. If James did not "base" his story on the published reports of the Society, they might nevertheless have been a logical source of suggestions for the development of Benson's anecdote. For many reasons, the omission of an investigation of this possibility is remarkable. James's interest in psychical phenomena is well known to his readers, and is the subject of frequent mention in the recollections of his friends. Although he was not a member of the Society, founded in 1882, several friends were active in its affairs, two of them—F. W. H. Myers and Edmund Gurney—being founders. William James was a corresponding member from 1884 to 1889, vice president from 1890 to 1893, and president from 1894 to 1896. A report on the proceedings of a general meeting of the Society on October 31, 1890, states that "the paper by Professor William James . . . on 'Observations of Certain Phenomena of Trance' was read by his brother, Henry James."⁸ William James directed the American section of the "Census of Hallucinations" conducted by the Society from 1889 to 1894.⁹ The findings of the

⁷ *The Supernatural Element in Modern English Fiction* (New York, 1917), p. 204. Before I came upon this remark in Miss Scarborough's book, Mr. John Bronson Friend, of Shelburne, Massachusetts, had called my attention to the possibility of a relation between the reports of the Society and James's story. I am heavily indebted to Mr. Friend for provocation and for many valuable suggestions for this essay.

⁸ "Proceedings of the General Meeting," *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, VI, 660 (1889-1890). This publication is hereinafter referred to as *P.S.P.R.*

⁹ The "Census" was conducted by collecting answers to a widely distributed questionnaire. There were 410 collectors (members of the Society and their friends), 17,000 informants, most of whom were "educated persons." Further assistance in the inquiry was obtained "by a special appeal to psychologists made by Professor Sidgwick in *Mind*, and

Census were made known not only through its own publications, but through reprints and summaries in magazines, in texts such as William James's *Principles of Psychology*, and in such collections as Frank E. Podmore's *Studies in Psychical Research*, and Andrew Lang's *Book of Dreams and Ghosts*, all of which appeared shortly before "The Turn of the Screw" was written.¹⁰

That James had read and studied the reports of the Society is evident from the Preface, in which he refers frequently to the "new" ghost, "the mere modern 'psychical' case," and to the "today so copious psychical record of cases of apparitions."¹¹ He leaves no doubt of his familiarity with the typical patterns of the reports:

Different signs and circumstances . . . mark these cases; different things are done—though on the whole very little appears to be—by the persons appearing; the point is, however, that some things are never done at all: this negative quantity is large—certain reserves and properties and immobilities consistently impose themselves. Recorded and attested "ghosts" are in other words as little expressive, as little dramatic, above all as little continuous and conscious and responsive, as is consistent with their taking the trouble—and immense trouble they find it, we gather—to appear at all.¹²

If James emphasizes the artistic limitations of the "recorded and attested" ghosts, it is chiefly to make clear to the reader his reasons for ignoring these limitations in the construction of his own phantoms. "I had to decide," he says, "between having my apparitions correct and having my story 'good.'"¹³ The Preface was written many years after the story was first published, and James might well have been replying to a criticism that he had failed to adhere to scientific accounts of the nature of apparitions and hallucinations. With his characteristic air of deprecation he stresses the point that he had no intention of making his apparitions "correct," and dwells upon the differences rather than the similarities between his ghosts and those of the reports. This disclaimer would have been unnecessary, of course, had he used the familiar ghost of popular fiction.

through articles by him and other members of the Committee published in various more popular periodicals (*Nineteenth Century*, *New Review*, *Murray's Magazine*, *Review of Reviews*)." See "Report on the Census of Hallucinations," *P.S.P.R.*, X, 25-422 (1894).

¹⁰ According to the letter to A. C. Benson cited above, the story was written in the fall of 1897.

¹¹ Preface, pp. xv, xix.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. xix.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. xx.

For James and his contemporary readers, steeped in the lore of psychical research, the significant point about his ghosts was that they were departures from the usually inartistic and meaningless apparitions of scientific investigation. For readers today who approach the story with preconceptions still largely derived from the familiar phantoms of Gothic fiction, it is important to realize that the ghosts of "The Turn of the Screw" are conceived to a surprising extent in terms of the cases reported to the Society. From the point of view of this emphasis the story becomes an interesting *tour de force*, an attempt to re-create what James refers to as "a beautiful lost form," and to rouse, as he puts it, "the dear old sacred horror" without departing any more than artistically necessary from the then current knowledge of psychical phenomena.

The contrast between the "old" and the "new" ghost is cited in the reports:

In the magazine ghost stories . . . the ghost is a fearsome being, dressed in a sweeping sheet and shroud, carrying a lighted candle, and speaking in dreadful words from fleshless lips. It enters at the stroke of midnight, through the sliding panel, just by the bloodstain on the floor. . . . Or it may be only a clanking of chains, a tread as of armed men heard whilst the candles burn blue and the dogs howl.¹⁴

In the majority of cases reported to the Society, the ghost does not appear at any known fixed time of day or year. It is usually seen distinctly "in all kinds of light, from broad daylight to the faint light of dawn." It is described in detail, and appears "in such clothes as are now, or have recently been, worn by living persons." It is seen "on looking round, as a human being might be," or it seems "to come in at the door." It rarely makes noises: "to hear its footsteps, for instance, seems to be unusual." Sudden death, "often either murder or suicide, appears to be connected with the cause of the apparition" in many cases. Percipients are not limited by sex, age, or profession. If several persons are together when the ghost appears, "it will sometimes be seen by all and sometimes not, and failure to see it is not always merely the result of not directing attention to it."¹⁵

The ghosts of "The Turn of the Screw" conform precisely to the second of these generic types. They do not appear at any fixed

¹⁴ "Report of the Committee on Haunted Houses," *P.S.P.R.*, II, 139 (1884).

¹⁵ *P.S.P.R.*, II, 139 (1884); III, 144, 145 (1885).

time of day or year. They are so distinctly seen that the governess is able to give a detailed description of both to the housekeeper, who recognizes them at once. Six of the eight apparitions occur in daylight. Quint appears in the cast-off clothes of his master, and Miss Jessel in a black dress. The governess usually comes upon them suddenly and unexpectedly, on coming into view of the house, on entering a room or turning down a stair. They are silent, they never speak, they only look. The cause of death is not definitely stated in either case, but circumstances lend themselves to the interpretation that Quint was murdered and that Miss Jessel committed suicide. A remarkable feature of the story, stressed in the prologue, is that the percipients are children; although rare in fiction, it is common in the reports, ten such cases appearing in the first three volumes. On one occasion the governess directs the attention of Mrs. Grose to the apparition of Miss Jessel, but the housekeeper is unable to see it. In short, James eschews the incredible ghosts of sensational fiction for the more plausible and so-called "veridical" apparitions of the reports. He even employs, to good effect and despite his strenuous disclaimer, the mysterious absence of any apparent object or intelligent action on the part of the ghost, for his phantoms are a baffling mystery until the governess begins to develop her theory that they have come "to get hold" of the children. But neither the governess nor the reader is ever positive of the correctness of this theory. "To knead the subject of my young friend's . . . mystification thick" is one of the chief artistic problems cited by James in the Preface. He protests that the motive of the ghosts is not specified, that his values "are positively all blanks," and that his strategy is to make the reader "think" the evil for himself.¹⁶ At the end of the story, the governess's explanation is still only her theory, but the reader is hard pressed for a better one.¹⁷

¹⁶ Preface, pp. xviii, xxi.

¹⁷ Edmund Wilson has suggested what he considers to be a better one. In an essay entitled "The Ambiguity of Henry James," Mr. Wilson develops the theory, first suggested by Edna Kenton, that "the young governess who tells the story is a neurotic case of sex-repression, and the ghosts are not ghosts at all, but merely the hallucinations of the governess" (*Hound and Horn*, VII, 385, April-May, 1934). An extended version of this essay appears in *The Triple Thinkers* (New York, 1938), pp. 122-164. More recently, Mr. Wilson has retracted somewhat: "There are, however, points in the story which are difficult to explain on this theory, and it is probable that James . . . was unconscious of having raised something more frightening than the ghosts he had contemplated." See "Books," *New Yorker*, XX, 69 (May 27, 1944). The passage from the notebooks quoted above makes it clear that James intended the ghosts to be more frightening than the governess. For able refutations of the Freudian theory, see A. J. A. Waldock, "Mr. Edmund Wilson

But not all of the reports are of pointless apparitions. At least one, which would seem to be the case cited by Miss Scarborough, contains a possible suggestion for the governess's theory. It concerns a "haunted house" in London, and it begins with the testimony of a woman interviewed by Edmund Gurney and described by him as a "sensible and clear-headed person." She relates her experiences in the house as "a little girl, with a sister and brother younger than myself." "I remember well," she writes, "an old lady who proved the greatest trouble we children had, first because she was a mystery, and secondly because she got us into trouble with our father." The old lady appeared one day while the witness and her brother were playing a favorite game. Chairs were arranged to represent a carriage in which they sat, covering their heads with a tablecloth for a roof:

One of us took to riding outside our carriage on purpose to watch the strange old lady. For she always *looked* a great deal—or seemed to our youthful eyes to do so—and we all thought she would do something horrid to us the first time she caught us under the table-cloth. We even kept a large ruler close to us on purpose to throw at her if she touched us.

Whenever they asked the servants about the old lady they received evasive replies. Finally they "talked about her to each other, but did not mention her in public."¹⁸

Several aspects of this case parallel the story: the account by a "sensible and clear-headed person," one who, as James says in the Preface, has "authority"; the appearance of the ghost to children, not of "indefinite number" as in Benson's anecdote, but specifically to a boy and a girl; their secrecy about the ghost in the presence of adults; their impression that the ghost always "looked" a great deal, which is precisely what the ghosts of the story do so terribly;

and "The Turn of the Screw," *Modern Language Notes*, LXII, 331-334 (May, 1947), and R. B. Heilman, "The Freudian Reading of 'The Turn of the Screw,'" *Modern Language Notes*, LXII, 433-445 (Nov., 1947). Professor Heilman presents unanswerable internal and external evidence to show that "the Freudian reading of Henry James's *The Turn of the Screw* does violence not only to the story but also to the Preface." His conclusion is that "a great deal of unnecessary mystery has been made of the apparent ambiguity of the story. Actually, most of it is a by-product of James's method: his indirection; his refusal, in his fear of anticlimax to define the evil; his rigid adherence to point of view; his refusal—amused, perhaps?—to break that point of view for a reassuring comment on those uncomfortable characters, the apparitions" (*loc. cit.*, pp. 433, 441).

¹⁸ Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, "Notes on the Evidence, Collected by the Society, for Phantasms of the Dead," *P.S.P.R.*, III, 126, 127 (1885).

and most striking of all, their idea that she might "do something horrid" to them if she "touched" them, an idea not inconsistent with the apparitions of Quint and Miss Jessel.

There are pertinent resemblances of detail in another case, which begins with an account written by a governess employed in a house in Ireland. In the notes on the evidence, Mrs. Henry Sidgwick remarks that this governess "kept a diary for many years," in which she carefully recorded the strange events described in her report:

On the 18th of April, 1867, about 7.40 P. M., I was going to my room, which I at that time shared with one of my pupils, when just as I reached the top of the stairs I plainly saw the figure of a female dressed in black, with a large white collar or kerchief, very dark hair, and pale face. . . . She moved slowly and went into the room, the door of which was open. I thought it was Marie, the French maid . . . but the next moment I saw that the figure was too tall and walked better. I then fancied it was some visitor who had arrived unexpectedly . . . and had gone into the wrong bedroom.

Late one evening in September the governess was "sitting in the schoolroom" when the same figure appeared and "seemed to go up one step of the stairs." On this occasion the witness felt rather nervous "from thinking it was someone who had no business in the house, or that someone was playing me a trick." Two daughters of the house, under the governess's care at the time, testified that they also saw the ghost, one "while sitting in the schoolroom rather late," the other when, returning from a walk one day at noon, she went to the window and "looked through the glass and saw a lady standing at the bottom of the stairs."¹⁹

This case presents several important details that appear in the story, particulars not given in Benson's anecdote. The woman in the anecdote is vaguely described as having had the story from someone else: no governess is mentioned. James concludes his note by saying that his own story should be told "by an outside spectator, observer." The governess who writes her own account of her experiences is a change from, or addition to, the original idea, a change or addition parallel with this case. Other parallels are the pale-faced woman in black; the appearance of this woman to the children; and certain details of scene, such as the schoolroom, the stairs, the peering through a widow. Miss Jessel is described as

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 120, 121, 122.

"a woman in black, pale and dreadful." She too appears in a schoolroom and at the foot of a stairs. Quint is also seen on the stairs and appears twice at windows. On one occasion the governess peers through a window, frightening the housekeeper who just happens to be entering the room. Especially striking is the percipient's impression that the apparition is an actual person, the maid or an unexpected visitor, just as James's governess, coming upon Miss Jessel in the schoolroom, sees a figure that "I should have taken at the first blush for some housemaid"; and on the first appearance of Quint, wonders whether "some unscrupulous traveler . . . had made his way in unobserved"; and considers the possibility of "there having been in the house . . . a person of whom I was in ignorance"; and does not feel sure until three days later that she "had not been practiced upon by the servants nor made the object of any 'game.'" ²⁰

A third case involving a similar figure of a woman "tall, dark, and pale, dressed in black," also seen so distinctly that the witness "did not suppose but that she was some stranger got into the place," presents an incident that recalls the situations of two of the most vivid scenes in the story. The percipient is again a woman in charge of a child "of about five or six":

She was amusing herself with some toys, and I was reading, when she stopped and looked intently at the partition just above the cupboard. It was painted a plain color; there was no picture, or light or shadow where she was looking. I asked the child what she was looking at. "At the face," she replied. "Never mind," I said, "go on with your play," and so she did, but very soon stopped again. She came up to me, and looking at the same place, she said, "Oh, the face." "Someone looking out of window [*sic*]," I said inconsequently, as the window was behind us. "Oh no," she said, "it wants you, Miss Alice, it wants you." I saw nothing, but picked up the child, and took refuge in the nursery. ²¹

The incident is reminiscent of the scene in which the governess is seated on a bench near a small lake, occupied with a piece of work while Flora plays on the shore. The governess hears the child stop in her play, and without raising her head, senses that they are being watched by a third person. When she looks up, the child has turned her back to the apparition on the far side of the lake

²⁰ "The Turn of the Screw," pp. 177, 180, 181, 203, 256-257.

²¹ Sidgwick, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

and has begun to play with a piece of wood to give the impression, so the governess surmises, that she is not aware of the ghost. In another scene the governess is quizzing Miles when suddenly the face of Quint leers through a window behind him. She shrieks in horror and grasps the boy in her arms. Terrified, he looks about the room, trying to see what she sees, and then falls lifeless in her grasp, apparently frightened to death. In both report and story there is the idea that the ghost is "after" someone, although the report reverses the situations in the story, the child thinking that "the face" has come for the governess.

Such are the reports that present the most remarkable parallels with "The Turn of the Screw." A few minor but interesting details from other cases are worthy of mention. The identification of the ghost in one of these conforms to the way in which the ghosts are identified by the governess, who describes both in such vivid detail that the housekeeper immediately recognizes them. In the report in question there is a similar recognition scene in which the percipient, also without previous knowledge of the dead person or the ghost, describes the apparition to a servant who exclaims, "That was her, miss!"²² In another unusual case, the witness testifies to having experienced "an icy wind and a feeling of being 'watched,'" two details that recall the incident of "an extraordinary blast and chill, a gust of frozen air," and the governess's awareness, "without direct vision," of Miss Jessel across the lake.²³

The *Proceedings* also contains theoretical discussions of the nature of apparitions that would have interested Henry James: Edmund Gurney tried to account for the ghost by postulating "the survival of a mere image, impressed, we cannot guess how, on we cannot guess what, by that person's physical organism, and perceptible at times to those endowed with some cognate form of sensitiveness."²⁴ The notion of a "cognate form of sensitiveness" would have appealed to James, for the phrase is an apt description of a quality with which he endows his characters. The mysterious effects upon each other of the *personae* of *The Sacred Fount*, for

²² Edmund Gurney and F. W. H. Myers, "On Apparitions Occurring Soon after Death," *P.S.P.R.*, V, 446 (1889).

²³ Cf. Sidgwick, *op. cit.*, p. 115, and pp. 201 and 267 of "The Turn of the Screw" in the edition cited. Andrew Lang cites this case in *The Book of Dreams and Ghosts* (London, 1897), p. 196.

²⁴ Quoted by F. W. H. Myers, "On Recognized Apparitions Occurring More Than a Year after Death," *P.S.P.R.*, VI, 15 (1889).

example, appear to be based on just such an assumption of cognate forms of sensitiveness and insensitiveness. One might say of the governess that her fine affection for the children and keen awareness of their helpless plasticity endow her with a sensitiveness that enables her to perceive the terrible evil that threatens them. The governess and the ghosts might be said to have cognate forms of sensitiveness because they have in common unique though opposed interests in the children. Not to endow the housekeeper, who fails to see the ghosts, is characteristic of James. According to Myers, an apparition might be "a manifestation of persistent personal energy,—or an indication that some kind of force is being exercised after death which is in some way connected with a person previously known on earth."²⁵ This theory also fits the story perfectly, the ghosts being nothing if not a manifestation of such "persistent personal energy" or "force" connected in an evil way with their relation to the children before death.

Although prototypes of Miss Jessel are abundant in the reports, no psychical Quint appears, but his absence is somewhat compensated for by the unexpected emergence of a real one. A correspondent quoted by Myers in one of his articles on "Phantasms of the Dead" signs his testimony with the name of "Wilson Quint."²⁶ If James found the appropriate name for his spectral valet in the signature of this innocent correspondent—and we know that he took extraordinary pains over the selection and invention of appropriate names for his characters, searching the columns of the *Times*, weighing the suggestiveness of their sounds, considering their juxtaposition on the page—how he must have rejoiced at the discovery of this monosyllable which, taken with "Peter," makes his evil valet one of the most unforgettably named of James's characters.²⁷

Although these striking parallels do not prove conclusively that James drew upon the reports, they do show that he constructed his apparitions much more in terms of the "mere modern 'psychical' case" than perhaps he himself realized or was willing to admit. Ideas regarding psychical phenomena were much in the air throughout the eighties and nineties; it was no accident that among Arch-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁶ "On Indications of Continued Terrene Knowledge on the Part of Phantasms of the Dead," *P.S.P.R.*, VIII, 206 (1892).

²⁷ For James's interest in names, see the lists of names entered at frequent intervals in the notebooks, his letter to a correspondent who protested his use of a family name, and the comment by the editors in *The Notebooks of Henry James*, pp. 8, 63.

bishop Benson's guests on that January night "the talk turned . . . to apparitions and night-fears." The reports are not mentioned in the notebooks, but the remarks in the Preface are ample evidence that James had taken careful note of them. One wonders how Benson's case escaped the Census of Hallucinations: it would not have been surprising to find it there, for the name of "Mrs. Benson, Lambeth Palace," appears on the lists of associates and members of the Society from 1883 to 1896.

Shortly after the publication of "The Turn of the Screw," F. W. H. Myers wrote to James, apparently asking him several questions about the story, and James belatedly replied:

I scarce know what to say to you on the subject on which you wrote, especially as I'm afraid I don't quite *understand* the principal question you put to me about "The Turn of the Screw." However, that scantily matters; for in truth I am afraid I have on some former occasions rather awkwardly signified to you that I somehow can't pretend to give any coherent account of my small inventions "after the fact."²⁸

The reply is obviously evasive, for the entry in the notebooks and the discussion in the Preface are very coherent accounts of this particular invention, both before and after the fact. It would be interesting to know what "principal question" this authority on psychical research addressed to the creator of the ghosts of "The Turn of the Screw."

²⁸ *Letters*, I, 300.

ANOTHER TURN ON JAMES'S "THE TURN OF THE SCREW"

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IN HIS PREFACE to the New York Edition of "The Turn of the Screw" (1908), Henry James confidently asserted this was the kind of story "least apt to be baited by earnest criticism."¹ Yet from the date the story was published in 1898 it has continued to agitate the pens of commentators and critics. Early commentary was content with epithetically patting and praising the work: it has variously been called "indescribably hellish,"² "the most monstrous and incredible ghost-story,"³ "the most eerie and harrowing" story ever written, yet "the finest work he has ever done."⁴ More recent criticism, however, has been occupied almost exclusively with the question of interpretation. There are two schools of thought: the more traditional interpretation holds that the dead servants, in a preternatural flair of evil, actually returned to haunt the children; the more recent psychological theory is based on the belief that the governess alone was possessed of these demons, that her sexually frustrated mind generated the ghosts and the atmosphere of corruption surrounding the innocent children. Although many critics have disagreed with this latter interpretation, none, so far as I have been able to ascertain, have attempted a refutation of the specific arguments presented.⁵ It is the purpose of this paper to present briefly the conclusions of the psychological interpretation, and by re-examining them in the light of internal evidence and of James's critical comments on the story to show how little basis there is for such a theory.

¹ Preface, p. xiv. All quotations from the Preface and from "The Turn of the Screw" refer to the New York Edition of *The Novels and Tales of Henry James* (New York, 1908) Vol. XII.

² *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, XVIII, 732 (Dec., 1898).

³ *Critic*, XXXIII, 524 (Dec., 1898).

⁴ F. M. Hueffer, *Henry James: A Critical Study* (London: Martin Secker, 1913), p. 151.

⁵ *American Monthly*, XVIII, 733.

⁶ Since this article was written, three refutations of the psychological interpretation have appeared: A. J. A. Waldock, "Mr. Edmund Wilson and 'The Turn of the Screw,'" *Modern Language Notes*, LXII, 331 ff. (May, 1947); R. B. Heilman, "The Freudian Reading of 'The Turn of the Screw,'" *ibid.*, LXII, 433 ff. (Nov., 1947); and E. E. Stoll, "Symbolism in Coleridge," *PMLA*, LXIII, 214-233 (March, 1948).

The psychological theory did not gain prominence until a number of years after James's death in 1916, although one of the earliest reviewers suggests the ground later disputed.

The subject-matter of "The Turning [*sic*] of the Screw" is also made up of feminine intuitions, but the heroine—this time a governess—has nothing in the least substantial upon which to base her deep and startling cognitions. She perceives what is beyond perception, and the reader who begins by questioning whether she is supposed to be sane ends by accepting her conclusions and thrilling over the horrors they involve.⁷

It remained for later critics to study more carefully the possibility of the governess's insanity and to arrive at a conclusion quite different from that presented in the above passage. Edna Kenton suggested that the ghosts and children, the pictorial isolation are "only the exquisite dramatizations of her [the governess's] little personal mystery, figures for the ebb and flow of the troubled thought within her mind, acting out her story."⁸ According to Miss Kenton, to interpret the story in any other way is to fall into the trap James set for unwary readers.

The children hounded by the prowling ghosts—this is the hard and shining surface story of *The Turn of the Screw*. . . . As a tiny matter of literal fact, no reader has more to go on than the young governess's word for this rather momentous and sidetracking allegation. As a rather large matter of literal fact, we know, with but a modicum of attention paid to her recital of these nerve-shattering affairs at Bly, that it is she—always she herself—who sees the lurking shapes and heralds them to her little world. . . . There are traps and lures in plenty, but just a little wariness will suffice to disprove, with a single survey of the ground, the traditional, we might almost call it lazy version of this tale. Not the children, but the little governess was hounded by the ghosts who, as James confides with such suave frankness in his Preface, merely "helped me to express my subject all directly and intensely."⁹

Edmund Wilson followed this lead with a more detailed analysis of this psychological interpretation.

According to this theory, the young governess who tells the story is a neurotic case of sex repression, and the ghosts are not real ghosts at all but merely the hallucinations of the governess.¹⁰

⁷ *Critic*, loc. cit.

⁸ "Henry James to the Ruminant Reader: *The Turn of the Screw*," *Arts*, VI, 255 (Nov., 1924).

⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 254.

¹⁰ "The Ambiguity of Henry James," *The Triple Thinkers* (New York, 1938), p. 122.

Mr. Wilson proceeds to retell the story in the light of this theory. The evils in the story are all in the mind of the governess and are accounted for in two ways: the governess reads sinister significance into trivial events which, in themselves, are quite innocent (thus the expelling of Miles from school is, according to Mr. Wilson, an event "which she colors, on no evidence at all, with a significance somehow sinister"); or the overwrought mind of the sexually frustrated governess is visited by apparitions, so that she perceives what is beyond all perception—ghosts, sexual symbolism, corrupted children. Mr. Wilson concludes his analysis:

When one has once been given this clue to "The Turn of the Screw," one wonders how one could ever have missed it. There is a very good reason, however, in the fact that nowhere does James unequivocally give the thing away: almost everything from beginning to end can be read equally in either of two senses.¹¹

When we look back in the light of these hints, we become convinced that the whole story has been primarily intended as a characterization of the governess: her visions and the way she behaves about them, as soon as we look at them from the obverse side, present a solid and unmistakable picture of the poor country parson's daughter, with her English middle-class class-consciousness, her inability to admit to herself her sexual impulses and the relentless English "authority" which enables her to put over on inferiors even purposes which are totally deluded. . . .¹²

From the above passages it would seem that Miss Kenton and Mr. Wilson are in agreement at least on three points: (1) the story is a psychological case study of neurotic sex repression; (2) the characterization of the governess is James's main concern; (3) the evils in the story exist only in the mind of the governess. There are other issues upon which they do not agree. Miss Kenton believes James intended the story as a trap for unwary readers, but any intelligent reader would see through the shining surface to the true meaning of the tale. Mr. Wilson, however, argues that the meaning is ambiguous, that the story may be read equally in either of two senses. Whether James consciously or unconsciously created this ambiguity is not clearly stated.

Before attempting to point out some of the weaknesses of this psychological theory, I should admit that some critics might argue

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 131.

that any interpretation not specifically opposed by the facts in the story is possible. But such an attitude, it seems to me, offers but feeble justification for not probing the author's intentions and techniques. It is my conviction that the psychological interpretation is based on intuitive judgments and cognitions even less substantial than those the governess is accused of making. My thesis obviously admits of no startling imaginary discoveries, but it does have the virtue of returning the story from the arid atmosphere of a psychic case to its proper province as a haunted and haunting ghost story replete with all imaginable intangible horrors.

First of all let us consider James's avowed intention in writing the story. He tells us the germ of "The Turn of the Screw" was in a little story told by Archbishop Benson in January, 1895, "dealing as it did with a couple of small children in an out-of-the-way place, to whom the spirits of certain 'bad' servants, dead in the employ of the house, were believed to have appeared with the design of 'getting hold' of them."¹³ In *The Notebooks of Henry James* an even clearer statement of intent may be found. "The servants, wicked and depraved, corrupt and deprave the children; the children are bad, full of evil, to a sinister degree. The servants *die* . . . and their apparitions, figures, return to haunt the house *and* children. . . ."¹⁴ This germ, as James explains in the Preface to the story, became his central idea.

They [the ghosts] would be agents in fact; there would be laid on them the dire duty of causing the situation to reek with the air of Evil. Their desire and their ability to do so, visibly measuring meanwhile their effect, together with their observed and described success—this was exactly my central idea. . . .¹⁵

Whom were these abnormal "agents in fact" intended to haunt—the governess or the children?

What, in the last analysis, had I to give the sense of? Of their being, the haunting pair, capable, as the phrase is, of everything—that is of exerting, in respect to the children, the very worst action small victims so conditioned might be conceived as subject to.¹⁶

¹³ Preface, p. xv. For a detailed discussion of the origin, see F. X. Roellinger, Jr., "Psychical Research and 'The Turn of the Screw,'" published in this issue of *American Literature*.

¹⁴ Ed. F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock (New York, 1947), p. 178.

¹⁵ Preface, p. xx.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

It seems clear from these passages that James conceived of the central idea of the story as the relationship between corrupt servants and the children. There is no indication here, or in any other critical remarks on the story, that James intended the governess to be a third, in fact dominant factor in this relationship. In the light of James's expressed plan for having the ghosts carry the burden of creating an atmosphere of horror and of exerting the worst possible action on the children there would be a decided deterioration of his haunting matrix if the evils and the ghosts are able to escape as mere hallucinations of the governess. In fact, if we treat the story as a psychological study in sexual frustration, as Mr. Wilson suggests, then James is guilty of attempting to write the very type of modern "psychical" case he scorned.

The new type [of ghost story] indeed, the mere modern "psychical" case, washed clean of all queerness as by exposure to a flowing laboratory tap, and equipped with credentials vouching for this—the new type clearly promised little, for the more it was respectably certified the less it seemed of a nature to rouse the dear old sacred terror.¹⁷

How does James classify his story? Without any hedging or ambiguity he identifies it as a "fairy-tale pure and simple," which he compares to the classic stories of the Brothers Grimm. There is the same objective horror with no attempt to explain it away. "Peter Quint and Miss Jessel are not 'ghosts' at all, as we now know the ghost, but goblins, elves, imps, demons as loosely constructed as those of the old trials for witchcraft; if not, more pleasingly, fairies of the legendary order, wooing their victims forth to see them dance under the moon."¹⁸

In view of this evidence, can we not say that in so far as James's intentions were concerned there is no ambiguity, no obvious intent to fool the reader, but merely a conscious and cultivated attempt to "catch those not easily caught" in his vise of horror and mystification? Let us now turn our attention to an analysis of the story itself.

What role does the governess play in the story? Mr. Wilson and Miss Kenton would have her take the center of the stage—a woman "emotionally perverted," "a variation on one of James's familiar themes: the frustrated Anglo-Saxon spinster."¹⁹ There are

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xv.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xx.

¹⁹ *The Triple Thinkers*, *passim*.

several difficulties with this interpretation. In the first place, it has been noted that James does not even mention the governess when he discusses the central idea of his story. In the second place, it is difficult to see how a girl of twenty, with little knowledge of the world since she comes to her first job of governess fresh from a country parsonage, could be a version of the frustrated Anglo-Saxon spinster, particularly when her relationship with the Master is developed no further than a schoolgirlish crush and is inserted into the story, it seems to me, partly to motivate her acceptance of a position peculiarly encumbered and partly to explain her reluctance to consult the Master when she is hard pressed. In the third place, the character of the governess is not sufficiently particularized to hold the spotlight. When H. G. Wells blamed James for not sufficiently characterizing the governess, James replied:

Of course I had, about my young woman, to take a very sharp line. The grotesque business I had to make her picture and the childish psychology I had to make her trace and present, were . . . a very difficult job, in which absolute lucidity and logic, a singleness of effect, were imperative. Therefore I had to rule out subjective complications of her own—play of tone etc; and keep her impersonal save for the most obvious and indispensable little note of neatness, firmness and courage—without which she wouldn't have had her data.²⁰

If James had intended to dramatize the governess's personal mystery, he certainly would have further delineated these subjective complications instead of keeping her as impersonal as possible in order to give her the authority to tell the story.

References to the governess in the Preface and in his letters indicate that James intended her as the narrator or revealer of the horrors. In one place he speaks of the necessity of kneading "the subject of my young friend's; the supposititious narrator's, mystification thick, and yet strain the expression of it so clear and fine that beauty would result."²¹ In *The Notebooks* he ends his January 12, 1895, entry with the statement: "The story to be told—tolerably obviously—by an outside spectator, observer."²² In the Preface to the story he even specifies her exact limitations as a narrator. He sees himself faced with the "general proposition of our

²⁰ *The Letters of Henry James*, ed. Percy Lubbock (New York, 1920), I, 298-299.

²¹ Preface, p. xviii.

²² P. 179.

young woman's keeping crystalline her record of so many intense anomalies and obscurities—by which I don't of course mean her explanation of them, a different matter."²³ Thus we see her job is to keep a clear record of these strange happenings at Bly, but she is not to explain them away because by so doing she would remove the atmosphere of thick mystification so essential to the tone of horror and evil James is trying to sustain. And to the degree that the governess observed and records, yet is mystified, so is the reader held to the very end in the vise of expectant disclosure, always straining to penetrate the atmospheric haze of mystification.

The revealing of action through a character who is at the same time in the place of action (thus able to observe and report more directly) yet not involved too personally in the action (thus able to analyze and interpret objectively) is one of James's most frequently employed methods of story telling.

Throughout the story there are hints intended to convince the reader that the governess is a thoroughly trustworthy witness. In the introductory framework James is careful to give her the proper credentials to speak authoritatively on the strange events she is to record. Douglas, who possesses her document on the events at Bly, admits he was half in love with her, "a most charming person, . . . most agreeable woman I've ever known . . . she'd have been worthy of any whatever . . . awfully clever and nice." Douglas knew her after the events of the story. Thus James is making sure she is sufficiently accredited by presenting her as a charming person of good breeding with no obvious signs of mental instability either before or after the events of the story. Young, sensitive, inexperienced, she is indeed the type of person who would vibrate intensely to manifestations of evil around her. We note how impersonal James keeps her by giving her no name, by describing her appearance in the sketchiest fashion, and by having her tell the story from the grave. We observe that by having the story recorded after the events had happened he gives the governess a chance to weigh her evidence objectively and at the same time removes the possibility that the data were the product of emotional hysteria. The clarity and logic of her record should convince any reader that at least at the time of the writing the governess was not suffering from an emotionally overburdened mind.

²³ Preface, p. xix.

More persuasive still are other devices James employed to make the reader accept the conclusions of the governess. There are times when the governess herself questions her sanity, but in every case she is faced with what James considered irrefutable proof that she is on the right track. In a manner of speaking Mrs. Grose is the testing ground for just how far the reader may be expected to go in accepting the tenuous evidence of the governess. To the degree that Mrs. Grose accepts the evidence, so are we as readers to accept it. When she balks, as she does on several occasions, the governess faces her, and us, with one undeniable fact:

I found that to keep her thoroughly in the grip . . . I had only to ask her how, if I had "made it up," I came to be able to give, of each of the persons appearing to me, a picture disclosing, to the last detail, their special marks—a portrait on the exhibition of which she had instantly recognized and named them [the ghosts].²⁴

Mr. Wilson takes cognizance of this objection to his thesis:

There seems here to be only a single circumstance which does not fit into the hypothesis that the ghosts are hallucinations of the governess: the fact that the governess's description of the first ghost at a time when she has never heard of the valet should be identifiable as the valet by the housekeeper.²⁵

Yet even here he finds a way open for his interpretation on the assumption that there might have been a physical resemblance between the Master and Quint. Thus unconsciously she gives the ghost of Quint the features of the Master. This explanation is not only pure conjecture but conjecture which violates the facts presented. It will be remembered that the governess is thinking of the Master at the time she sees the ghost for the first time. Even at a considerable distance she immediately realizes it is not the Master, is not in fact anyone she has ever seen before. Added to this is the fact that there is no hesitation in Mrs. Grose's identification of the description as Quint. If there had been any possibility of confusing the two, Mrs. Grose would certainly have thought of the Master, whose presence would not have been supernatural, rather than of Quint, who had to return from the dead. Even so, such a theory as Mr. Wilson proposes does not explain the description the

²⁴ P. 209.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

governess is able to give of Miss Jessel with no foreknowledge at all.

Undoubtedly these arguments could be extended; but sufficient evidence has been presented, it seems to me, to show that James intended the governess as a narrator character and used a variety of techniques to convince the reader of the authenticity of her story. Let us now turn our attention to the last main contention of the critics of the psychological theory: the evils in the story exist only in the mind of the governess.

Both Miss Kenton and Mr. Wilson seem to agree that there is no horror or evil in the story except that which exists in the governess's mind. But this is palpably untrue since it is Mrs. Grose, not the governess, who reluctantly discloses the machinations of the Quint-Jessel regime. It will be remembered that Mrs. Grose was inordinately glad to see the new governess. She attempts to hide all irregularities of the former occupants for fear of frightening the governess away, but under pressure she admits the diabolical deeds and mysterious deaths of the corrupt pair. That evil had existed and that the children had been exposed to it can hardly be questioned, unless we are also to discredit the entire testimony of the unlettered housekeeper.

From the standpoint of the governess it is bad enough to know that the children have been exposed to evil; but when it becomes evident that the evil is still active, that the children are conspiring with these demons and know far more than the governess or Mrs. Grose will ever know about the evil of this pair, then the governess realizes how desperate is the battle to save their little souls. Why do the children deny seeing the ghosts? Such denial, according to the governess, shows the extent to which the children have been corrupted. If there had been no sense of guilt, matters and personalities of the past would have been discussed quite openly. But the children are doing their best to throw the governess off the scent of their perversions by apparently innocent diversions and silences. Mrs. Grose confirms that such a technique had been used before. She says that under highly irregular circumstances "for a period of several months Quint and the boy had been perpetually together." When she remonstrated with Miles, "he denied certain occasions. . . . When he had gone off with the fellow, I mean, and spent hours with him." It will be noted that throughout the story the intuitive cognitions of the governess are verified by Mrs. Grose.

Near the end of the story the housekeeper declares she can remain no longer at Bly. Why? Not for fear of the governess but, as she says, because of the things she has "heard. . . . From that child—horrors! . . . On my honour, Miss, she says things—! . . . Really shocking . . . I can't think wherever she must have picked up—" These broken phrases show that Mrs. Grose, although she has not seen the ghosts, agrees with the governess as to their corrupting influence.

Such corroborating testimony is not all. The governess has been so shaken by the events of the story that she demands positive proof that her deductions are sound. When, in the tension of the final scene, Miles utters the corrupting servant's name, which he has so long withheld, the governess has her conclusive proof that demons did exist for the boy—either visually or mentally—since otherwise he certainly would not have had the slightest inkling of the meaning of her pressing insinuations. We might, of course, disagree violently with the governess's technique for dispossessing her young charge of the devil, but we can hardly deny that the devils (and other objective horrors) exist in the story quite apart from the mind of the governess.

Perhaps the most surprising part of this controversy over interpretation is the unwillingness of critics to accept James's own classification of the story as a fairy tale pure and simple. There is hardly a fairy story that does not contain objective, pictorial evil—evil that is in the world for no good reason and that lures innocent victims to their doom. This interpretation makes it as unnecessary to explain the demons as psychological phenomena as it would be to explain in psychological terms how a wolf could dress up in woman's clothing and talk to Little Red Ridinghood. In fact, when critics probe what they term the sexual symbolism in "The Turn of the Screw," it might be questioned whether they are psychoanalyzing the governess or James, and what he consciously or subconsciously brought to the story.

There are, as in fairy stories, many questions left unanswered. James uses the technique of the fairy tale in leading the reader on step by step to accept impossible happenings without ever attempting a rational explanation of them. Thus if there is little possibility of ambiguity of interpretation regarding the governess, there is intentional and calculated lack of explicitness in identifying the

evils that pervade the story. To James this obscurity was of the utmost importance in allowing the reader's imagination fertile ground in which to pullulate.

Portentous evil—how was I to save that . . . from the drop . . . inevitably attending . . . the offered example, the imputed vice, the cited act, the limited deplorable presentable instance? To bring the bad dead back to life for a second round of badness is to warrant them as indeed prodigious, and to become hence as shy of specifications as of a waiting anti-climax.²⁶

Only make the reader's general vision of evil intense enough, . . . his own experience, his own imagination, his own sympathy (with the children) and horror (of their false friends) will supply him quite sufficiently with all the particulars. Make him *think* the evil, make him think it for himself, and you are released from weak specifications.²⁷

Unspecified, unidentified evils presented against an isolated background haunted by demons and spirits and unexplainable actions—these are the ingredients of James's pictorial fairy story, his pot-boiler of horror. And he stirs these ingredients in his witches' brew with a careful pen, never allowing the curious observer a chance to specify the particulars but pushing him ever deeper into the thick vapors arising from the brew—vapors compounded of evils, horror, and mystification.

²⁶ Preface, pp. xx-xxi.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. xxi-xxii.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL STUDIES OF HENRY JAMES, 1941-1948

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The best bibliography yet compiled of the biographical and critical material on Henry James is that of Dr. Lyon N. Richardson in his *Henry James: Representative Selections* (1941). However, complete as it is, that bibliography does not extend beyond 1941, and the recent Jamesian revival has brought forth many penetrating studies which throw new light on the Henry James question. From 1941 to 1948 a variety of critical approaches were explored and new interpretations were evolved. Nevertheless, many questions are still unanswered; a final evaluation has not yet been reached; a definitive biography is still unwritten. The present bibliography includes certain studies which did not appear in Dr. Richardson's work. The list of doctoral dissertations, though brief, points toward an academic realization of the work of Henry James. The number of reprints, still too few, is gratifying to his admirers.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

SOME UNCOLLECTED POEMS BY EMILY DICKINSON

GEORGE F. WHICHER
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NOT ONCE in a million times perhaps would it happen that poems written with little thought of publication by a spinster living in voluntary seclusion would help to inaugurate a new poetic era. But with Emily Dickinson the miracle occurred. Not only did her tense lyrics, with their hinted rhymes and free handling of meter, discountenance the conventional glossy finish of late Victorian verse. She also experimented with distortions of language to convey nuances of experience that could not be explicitly stated, and in this respect she anticipated the direction in which recent poetry has advanced. Consequently every scrap of her writing deserves a respectful examination. Even the failures of such an artist in words are of interest.

But again a one-to-a-million chance brought it about that the manuscripts hoarded in Emily Dickinson's bureau drawer came to light at the moment when her surviving kindred were divided by an acrimonious feud. On the one side were Emily's sister Lavinia, nominally the inheritor of her papers, with her brother Austin, and in vigorous alliance with them the wife of Amherst's professor of astronomy, Mabel Loomis Todd, who at their request first prepared for publication selections from Emily's poems and letters. On the other side were Austin's wife, Susan Dickinson, and her daughter Martha, a girl with literary ambitions. They watched with jealous eyes the exploitation of the Dickinson papers by a woman whom they regarded as at best a rank outsider. The preservation of the precious heritage of poetry was not always a matter of first concern to the warring factions.

Mrs. Todd's daughter has particularized in *Ancestors' Brocades* the sporadic efforts that Susan Dickinson made to publish Emily Dickinson poems to her own greater glory.¹ She succeeded in placing "There came a day at summer's full" in *Scribner's Magazine*

¹ Millicent Todd Bingham, *Ancestors' Brocades* (New York, 1945), pp. 59, 112-118.

(August, 1890), and in so doing established a flagrant misreading of "sail" for "soul" which remains in the text to the present day. A year later she sent two lyrics to the *Independent*, where a number of Emily's pieces supplied by Mrs. Todd had already appeared. By inadvertence the proofs that should have been returned to Mrs. Dickinson were mailed to Mrs. Todd, precipitating volcanic explosions. Under extreme pressure from both Austin and Lavinia, Susan was induced to discontinue sending out for publication copies of the poems that Emily in innocence of heart had shared with her. She contented herself with recommending the work of her daughter Martha to the editor's notice, and as far as Emily Dickinson was concerned she bided her time.

It was not long before Mrs. Todd lost control of the situation. Austin Dickinson died in 1895. Late the following year Lavinia commenced a lawsuit against Professor and Mrs. Todd to recover a strip of land which she claimed she had been induced to deed to them upon fraudulent representations. Mrs. Todd felt keenly the implied disgrace when the court decided the case against her and the verdict was sustained on appeal. Her editing of the Dickinson papers was abruptly broken off. Henceforth she tried to exclude from her mind all thoughts of the Dickinsons. She could not bear to have them mentioned.

The events here recapitulated have an undoubted, though not precisely determined bearing on the fact that a number of poems by Emily Dickinson which appeared in magazines during the years 1897 and 1898 were never included in subsequent collections of her poems. Here in order of publication are four pieces which should be added to her "canon."

I

Ready

They might not need me—

Yet they might—

I'll let my heart be

Just in sight—

A smile so small

As mine, might be

Precisely their

Necessity.²

² *Youth's Companion*, LXXI, 568 (Nov. 11, 1897). Also printed as a four-line poem in Mrs. Todd's *Letters of Emily Dickinson* (1931 ed.), where it forms part of a letter addressed to Col. Higginson.

II

Nature's Way

Were nature mortal lady
 Who had so little time
 To pack her trunk and order
 The great exchange of clime—

How rapid, how momentous—
 What exigencies were—
 But nature will be ready
 And have an hour to spare.

To make some trifle fairer
 That was too fair before—
 Enchanting by remaining,
 And by departure more.³

III

Fame

Fame is a bee.
 It has a song—
 It has a sting—
 Ah, too, it has a wing.⁴

IV

Spring's Orchestra

The saddest noise, the sweetest noise,
 The maddest noise that grows,—
 The birds, they make it in the spring,
 At night's delicious close.

Between the March and April line—
 That magical frontier
 Beyond which summer hesitates,
 Almost too heavenly near.

It makes us think of all the dead
 That sauntered with us here,
 By separation's sorcery
 Made cruelly more dear.

³ *Youth's Companion*, LXXII, 36 (Jan. 20, 1898).

⁴ *Independent*, L, 1 (137) (Feb. 3, 1898).

It makes us think of what we had,
And what we now deplore.
We almost wish those siren throats
Would go and sing no more.

An ear can break a human heart
As quickly as a spear,
We wish the ear had not a heart
So dangerously near.⁵

How these maverick pieces got into print remains something of a mystery. The most natural supposition is that they were contributed by Mrs. Todd, who was in the habit of supplying Emily Dickinson poems to various periodicals. It was clearly from her, for instance, that the *Independent* received four specimens from the forthcoming *Poems: Third Series* which it printed on July 2, 1896. The *Youth's Companion* on March 18, 1897, contained the four-line poem beginning "Could mortal lip divine," presumably with a like authorization. It would be an easy assumption that the poems which appeared in the years immediately following were also sent out by Mrs. Todd while she was still promoting Emily Dickinson's literary debut, and abandoned by her after the sudden termination of her editorship. If they had been duly pasted into Mrs. Todd's scrapbooks, it would be difficult to explain why Mrs. Bingham failed to include them in *Bolts of Melody* (1945), a collection that obviously contained every scrap of Emily Dickinson's writing that its editor could rake and scrape together. But the omission would be understandable if these poems were published while Mrs. Todd was closing the valves of her attention to everything that could remind her of the Dickinsons.

On the other hand it should be noted, first, that none of these four poems was listed in the census of poems still unpublished made by Mrs. Todd in July, 1891.⁶ Second, the punctuation of the first three poems especially makes frequent use of dashes at the ends of lines, a peculiarity of transcribing Emily Dickinson's manuscripts that was pushed to an absurd extreme in the first printing of *Further Poems* (1929) under the editorship of Martha Dickinson

⁵ *Independent*, L, 1 (705) (June 2, 1898). This poem was rediscovered and reprinted by Fred Lewis Pattee in *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (New York, 1919), p. 587.

⁶ *Ancestors' Brocades*, Appendix V, pp. 421-447.

Bianchi and Alfred Leete Hampson. Furthermore, in "Nature's Way" there seems to be a mistake in the use of a period at the end of the second stanza, where the sense evidently runs on continuously to the end of the poem. Such punctuation would not be characteristic of Mrs. Todd, who was normally a sensitive reader and an intelligent transcriber.

Could it be, then, that Susan Dickinson or her daughter Martha was improving the favorable occasion to resume the sale of poems which she always claimed as her own property by right of gift? By 1897 Martha had successfully overcome the "feminine horror of print" which her mother had attributed to her half a dozen years earlier and was contributing occasional poems to both the *Independent* and the *Youth's Companion*. It would have been easy for her to supply some examples of Emily Dickinson's work. Yet neither she nor Susan could have presumed to issue Emily's poems without exciting Lavinia's ire, and Lavinia did not die until 1899. From that time until Susan's own death in 1913 she and Martha had full access to the Dickinson papers, except for the considerable masses of manuscript secreted by Lavinia or retained by Mrs. Todd, and so far as is known she did not attempt to publish a single poem during the interval. It seems unlikely then that she would have braved Lavinia's anger by intruding upon her prerogative.

There is still the possibility that Lavinia, who was tremulously eager to give her adored sister's poetry to the world, might conceivably have overcome her natural timidity sufficiently to begin marketing some of the unpublished manuscripts on her own account. But this supposition is purely hypothetical. It remains anyone's guess how these poems came to be printed and then lost to sight.

But there can be no question that they should not be left buried in the files of yesterday's periodicals. Emily Dickinson has suffered unconscionable damage from the unlucky chances that accompanied the discovery of her "letter to the world" and that have pursued the editing of her papers down to the present day. Whatever can be done to restore the original integrity of her work should not longer be delayed.

TWO UNCOLLECTED LETTERS OF JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

W. T. BANDY
Madison, Wisconsin

THE TWO letters printed below are not unpublished in the literal sense of the word, as they were reproduced in facsimile over eighty years ago in foreign periodicals specializing in the reproduction of autograph manuscripts of famous personages. The first appeared in France in *L'Autographe* of August 1, 1864, where it was accompanied by the following note:

Cette lettre, adressée à M. le pasteur D., accompagnait l'envoi de deux autographes, un de Walter-Scott,¹ et l'autre de M. Lockart [*sic*], gendre de l'illustre baronnet.—Collection de Mlle Henriette d'Angeville.

The Reverend D. is not further identified, but he was presumably a French Protestant minister whom Cooper met during his stay in Paris, where this letter was perhaps written. It is the only known specimen of a letter by Cooper written in French.² While the style is fairly easy, showing that Cooper handled the language without trouble, the orthography is not above reproach.³

MON CHER MONSIEUR,

J'ai trouvé une lettre de Sir Walter Scott que je vous envoie, avec plaisir. Il y a, aussi, une lettre de M. Lockhart, ou plutôt des lignes, avec sa signature, attachées, laquelle donne une valeur de plus à l'écriture, parceque M. Lockhart est un auteur bien connu, en Angleterre, et un auteur digne d'être connu.⁴

¹ In an earlier issue of *L'Autographe*, for March 1, 1864, there appeared a short business letter from Scott, which may have been the one that Cooper sent to the Reverend D., although no indication of the source of the autograph was given. As copies of *L'Autographe* are not easily accessible in this country; the text of Scott's letter, which does not seem to have been reprinted, is given here:

"MY DEAR SIR

"Rather a sudden and unavoidable occasion [?] makes me apply to you for a loan of £50 any time tomorrow to be replaced out of my next month's salary of which I will send you a receipt that it may not go out of recollection.

Shandwick Place

Thursday—

Yours very truly

WALTER SCOTT"

² Cooper did add a postscript in French, addressed to "Master Paul," in a letter to his wife on Feb. 27, 1829 (see *Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper*, edited by his grandson, James Fenimore Cooper . . . , New Haven, 1922, I, 159).

³ To one familiar with the *Gleanings in Europe*, this tendency to misspell French will not come as a surprise. It is made the more obvious by Cooper's insertion of a sheet of errata in the first volume of the work on France, where he "corrects" the spelling of *bonhomie* to read *bonhomie*.

⁴ Compare with Cooper's later estimate of Lockhart, revealed in his letter of Nov. 15, 1838, where he says: "Mr. Lockhart is a cool, calculating knave" (*Correspondence*, I, 385).

Vous verrez que la lettre de Sir Walter est sur des affaires, et peu poetique, mais c'est la seule qui me reste.

Je vous salue
Mon cher Monsieur
avec amitié
J. FENIMORE COOPER

The second letter appeared in *The Autographic Mirror*,⁵ an English publication obviously patterned on the French *L'Autographe*. It was probably addressed to Cooper's English publisher, Richard Bentley, whose edition of *The Oak Openings* appeared on August 14, 1848, ten days before the American edition.⁶

HALL, COOPERSTOWN, May 27th 1848

DEAR SIR,

You see what ⁷ the Stereotyper, says. I am curious to know what *you* now say. Have you the duplicates or not? Duplicates of the first 15 chapters have been sent to you and if you have not recieved [*sic*] them, they have been stolen on board ship. They often take great liberties with such packages on board packets, and I have always taken the precaution to seal those I sent myself.

I shall leave home about the 10th June, to go to Detroit, in Michigan, on the business that took me there last year. On my return about the close of the month, I shall finish the Openings, and forward the sheets. This will put the publication somewhere about the last of July. I have delayed it to meet your wishes.

You will see that Mr. ——— Gadsall is a regular thief if the package was taken from the vessel, as, if the duplicate has arrived, is most probably the case. I beg you will let me know how the fact is.

Yours truly

J. FENIMORE COOPER

⁵ I, 27 (1864).

⁶ Robert E. Spiller and Philip C. Blackburn, eds., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Writings of James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1934), p. 153.

⁷ The name deleted is probably that of John Fagan, the Philadelphia stereotyper who continued the establishment of Jedediah Howe. This firm produced many of the works of Cooper and other American authors. See George A. Kubler, *A New History of Stereotyping* (New York, 1941), pp. 155-159.

THE "CONTENTMENT" OF DR. HOLMES

HAROLD H. SCUDDER
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IN SPITE of his biographer's insistence that Dr. Holmes "was in no sense a writer inspired by his culture,"¹ it would seem that at least the poem "Contentment," introduced toward the close of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table*, has an inescapable literary source. The author's familiarity with Pope, Goldsmith, and Johnson is well known;² the subtitle of *The Autocrat* is "Every Man His Own Boswell," and the prefatory line of "Contentment" is from Goldsmith. With these facts in mind, it is difficult to think that the attention of Dr. Holmes, still a physician, would not have been aroused by the intriguing title of Matthew Green's poem *The Spleen*.

These verses have been reprinted regularly, if not in their totality, at least fragmentarily in the anthologies, from the day they first appeared in 1737 to the present time. A passage toward the close, which Austin Dobson attributes to Horace,³ seems to have been the inspiration for "Contentment." Furthermore, although generally inoffensive in this respect, Green was at times guilty of just the kind of Latinisms which Holmes enjoyed, and of which he had constructed his "Aestivation," just five pages earlier in *The Autocrat*. Dobson cites as samples *nefandous* and *fecundous*.⁴

THE SPLEEN

(lines 627-654)

I feel the deity inspire,
 And thus she models my desire.
 Two hundred pounds, half yearly paid,
 Annuity securely made,
 A farm some twenty miles from town,
 Small, tight, salubrious, and my own;
 Two maids, that never saw the town,
 A serving-man not quite a clown,
 A boy to help to tread the mow,

¹ John T. Morse, Jr., *Oliver Wendell Holmes* (Boston, 1896), I, 213.

² M. A. De Wolfe Howe, *Holmes of the Breakfast-Table* (London, 1939), p. 47.

³ Austin Dobson, "Matthew Green" in Thomas H. Ward, *The English Poets* (New York, 1906), III, 195.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 196. The Dobson reference is to Horace *Satires* II. vi. 1-15. Although Holmes was, presumably, acquainted with this passage, "Contentment" much more closely parallels the lines in *The Spleen* than it does the Horatian original.

And drive, while t'other holds the plough;
 A chief, of temper formed to please,
 Fit to converse, and keep the keys;
 And better to deserve the peace,
 Commission'd by the name of niece;
 With understandings of a size
 To think their master very wise.
 May heav'n (it's all I wish for) send
 One genial room to treat a friend,
 Where decent cup-board, little plate,
 Display benevolence, not state.
 And may my humble dwelling stand
 Upon some chosen spot of land:
 A pond before full to the brim,
 Where cows may cool, and geese may swim;
 Behind, a green like velvet neat,
 Soft to the eye, and to the feet;
 Where odorous plants in evening fair
 Breathe all around ambrosial air. . . .⁵

CONTENTMENT

"Man wants but little here below"

Little I ask; my wants are few;
 I only wish a hut of stone
 (A *very plain* brown stone will do)
 That I may call my own;—
 And close at hand is such a one,
 In yonder street that fronts the sun.
 Plain food is quite enough for me;
 Three courses are as good as ten;—
 If Nature can subsist on three,
 Thank Heaven for three. Amen!
 I always thought cold victuals nice;—
 My *choice* would be vanilla-ice.
 I care not much for gold or land;—
 Give me a mortgage here and there,—
 Some good bank-stock, some note of hand,
 Or trifling railroad share,—
 I only ask that Fortune send
 A *little* more than I shall spend.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 201-202.

Honors are silly toys, I know,
And titles are but empty names;
I would, *perhaps*, be Plenipo,—
But only near St. James;
I'm very sure I should not care
To fill our Gubernator's chair.

Jewels are baubles; 'tis a sin
To care for such unfruitful things;—
One good-sized diamond in a pin,—
Some, *not so large*, in rings,—
A ruby, and a pearl, or so,
Will do for me;—I laugh at show.

My dame should dress in cheap attire
(Good, heavy silks are never dear);—
I own perhaps I *might* desire
Some shawls of true Cashmere,—
Some marrowy crapes of China silk,
Like wrinkled skins on scalded milk.

I would not have the horse I drive
So fast that folks must stop and stare;
An easy gait—two forty-five—
Suits me; I do not care;—
Perhaps, for just a *single spurt*,
Some seconds less would do no hurt.

Of pictures, I should like to own
Titians and Raphaels three or four,—
I love so much their style and tone,
One Turner, and no more
(A landscape,—foreground golden dirt,—
The sunshine painted with a squirt).

Of books but few,—some fifty score
For daily use, and bound for wear;
The rest upon an upper floor;—
Some *little* luxury *there*
Of red morocco's gilded gleam
And vellum rich as country cream.

Busts, cameos, gems,—such things as these,
Which others often show for pride,
I value for their power to please,

And selfish churls deride;—
One Stradivarius, I confess,
Two Meerschaums, I would fain possess.

Wealth's wasteful tricks I will not learn,
 Nor ape the glittering upstart fool;—
 Shall not carved tables serve my turn,
 But *all* must be of buhl?
 Give grasping pomp its double share,—
 I ask but *one* recumbent chair.

Thus humble let me live and die,
 Nor long for Midas' golden touch;
 If Heaven more generous gifts deny,
 I shall not miss them *much*,—
 Too grateful for the blessing lent
 Of simple tastes and mind content!

"DOESTICKS" AND INNOCENTS ABROAD

FRED W. LORCH
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IN APRIL of 1867 Mark Twain returned to New York to arrange his passage on the *Quaker City*, bound for the Holy Land, and to await the publication of his first book, *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County, and Other Sketches*.¹ The book was published May 1. Since the *Quaker City* was not to sail till June 8, Mark Twain filled the interval by lecturing, writing New York letters for the *Alta California* (which was financing his *Quaker City* trip), and extending his acquaintances in New York. It was probably at this time that he first met Mortimer Neal Thomson, better known to the American public as "Doesticks."²

In 1854 "Doesticks" had achieved a brief burst of fame through the publication of humorous letters in the Detroit *Advertiser* and other newspapers. So popular were these letters that presently newspapers all over the country were reprinting them and speculating on the identity of the author. In St. Louis the editor of the *Evening News* was particularly amused by the "Doesticks" letters and reprinted six of them between

¹ See Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York, 1912), I, 310, 313.

² The full pen name was "Q. K. Philander Doesticks, P. B." In 1855 he published his letters in a book called *Doesticks: What He Says*. Two less successful books followed: *Pluribustah* (1856) and *Nothing to Wear* (1857). A biographical sketch of Mortimer Neal Thomson may be found in the *D.A.B.*

October 5 and November 29, 1854.³ This fact is worth noting, for at this time Mark Twain was setting type in the *News* office and probably worked on these letters. It may be assumed then that if Mark Twain had not met "Doesticks" prior to 1867 in New York, he knew about "Doesticks" and recognized him as something of a kindred spirit.

The personal letters from "Doesticks" to Mark Twain presented below are of interest for two reasons: They shed additional light on a minor but popular American humorist who enjoyed the spotlight of fame for a brief period in Mark Twain's early years; and they reveal that Mark Twain had conceived the idea of making a book of his *Quaker City* letters to the *Alta California* prior to his departure. They help correct Albert Bigelow Paine's statement in *Mark Twain: A Biography* (I, 349), in connection with the *Alta California* letters, that Mark Twain "was not immediately interested in the matter of book publication." Incidentally, the discovery of the Hymn which Mark Twain sent to "Doesticks" and which the latter pasted in his presentation copy (see letter of November 5) might add a choice bit of humor to the collection of Twainana.⁴

NEW YORK

October 21, 1870

FRIEND CLEMENS:

I don't believe you've forgotten me, and I don't want you to put on airs and *pretend* you have, just because I'm going to remind you of a promise. When we met here in 186 whatever it was, 68 [correct date was 1867] I believe, you told me you were going to go off in the Quaking City.—You stated that if there was any book-matter in the journey, the ship, the people, or the heathen lands and the inhabitants thereof, you proposed to extract the same and build a book.—You said also that I, even I should be favored with a copy of the said volume without money and without price and with the autograph of the Author put in the appropriate places—I think there was also something said about a Glossary and some explanatory notes for my special use, to make clear the jokes, but of that I am not certain.—Very well—the book is built—the architecture is complete but nary a copy have I—not a copy.

Now Marcus, this is not fair—that book I want—that book I must have—and, do you think I am so wild, so insane as to go and

³ The *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis) also reprinted some of these letters, attesting their popularity.

⁴ The "Doesticks" letters of Oct. 21 and Nov. 5, 1870, are in the Huntington Library. Photostatic copies were supplied by Mr. Dixon Wecter.

pay money for a funny book, when I have made funny(?) books my own self! Not very much.—Besides, you advertise that nobody but subscribers can get any copies—that none are for sale by Book-folks—how then could I purchase, even if purchasing was my little game—the which, I will not deceive you, tis *not*, by a jugfull—

Come now, you inveterate old Galaxiuss trot out that book—place it, by proxy, (for I won't insist on your coming personally) where these far-reaching fingers can approach the said—then tell your prox to look the other way and the book will vanish. Or instruct your agents here in York to send a copy, carriage paid and with the Government Stamp on, on a cart to yours truly at 45 Water St., where I at present suspend myself, being Storekeeper of a U. S. Bonded Warehouse, in the Internal Revenue Department of this model Government.

As I said—send the book—well I don't much care *how* you send it, so you *do* send it.

Or, send an order to me on your Pubs or on somebody else—, for, that Book I *must* have, and, as for *paying* for it—well, that's *too* good a joke—

The book is called, I believe, "Mark Twain's—Pure In no sense Abroad"

Really, now, how was it about you chaps. Were you really "Pure Innocents" or as I put it before Pure in no Sense—but I won't ask any impertinent questions.

Yours in healthy innocence

M. THOMSON.

"DOESTICKS. P.B."

P.S.

Lest you should not understand this letter I will explain, that it is a document begging the gift of your "Innocents Abroad"—Come now, my generous Innocent, send on your experiences.

M

P. S. No. 2

I fear my Postscript is too modest and ambiguous, but the truth is I want your book, and I want you to give it to me—In return, I'll strive with all my might to keep my next book far from your gaze—You can't say no fairer nor that—unless of course you should express a mad, wild desire to attempt the reading of it.

Write a line, anyhow, to me at 45 Water St.

N.Y.

NEW YORK, 45 Water St.

Nov. 5, 1870

FRIEND MARCUS.

The order for the Book came to hand in due time, for which and the dedicatory, (have I got too many "deds" or "dics" in that word;) anthem you sent I am thankful.—I sent the ordure to your Pubs, and they honored it without delay, making me pay the express and then apologizing next day for their oversight with the utmost promptness, my thirty cents being irrevocably gone—For which mercies, let us give a thank.

I have pasted the opening Hymn in the front of the book where it is the admiration of all beholders—I let 'em behold for nothing, but if they fail to admire I charge 'em—I charge according to social rank—very rich folks I don't charge anything—poor folks, five cents.

I enclose the chirographic outrage your publishers attempted to inflict on me as your genuine autograph.

Compliments—of

SAML L. CLEMENTS

Look at that—they've put a "t" in your name—just as many folks, including Sam'l Clemens, put a "p" in my name—Beware. Look out. Take care of yourself for

I am the original

Thomson, without a "p"
in my name⁵

ON THE TROCHAIC METER OF "PIONEERS! O PIONEERS!"

GAY WILSON ALLEN

New York University

I entirely agree with Mr. Fletcher that Whitman's verse should be read aloud for full appreciation of its "organic rhythms."¹ If I have not specifically so advised in my *Walt Whitman Handbook*, the fact seems too obvious to need emphasizing. Perhaps I may have overstressed the metrical regularity of "Pioneers! O Pio-

⁵ Despite this pointed correction in the spelling of Thomson's name, Mark Twain made the same error in his *Mark Twain's Library of Humor* (1888) and was guilty of an additional error when he gave Thomson's middle initial as *M* instead of *N* (see p. 532).

¹Edward G. Fletcher, "'Pioneers! O Pioneers!,'" *American Literature*, XIX, 259-261 (Nov., 1947).

neers!," but before the trochaic classification is dismissed I should like to point out that the purpose and content of the poem harmonize with the use of trochaic meter. "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" is a marching poem, published first in *Drum-Taps*, the most nearly metrical group of *Leaves of Grass*, because associated with martial emotions. In 1871-1872 Whitman republished it in a section of the *Leaves* called "Marches Now the War Is Over." Appropriately, the LEFT-right, LEFT-right marching rhythm dominates the poem. The poet-leader shouts to his followers, his "children," *come, follow*, for "We must march . . . we must bear the brunt of danger . . ."

Have the elder races halted?
 Do they droop and end their lesson, / wearied over there beyond the seas?
 We take up the task eternal, / and the burden and the lesson,
 Pioneers! O Pioneers!

The degree of stress on "Have," "Do," and "and" (third line) will vary with different readers, but some stress is necessary to preserve the tempo needed for the context.

Fresh and strong the world we seize, [emphatic caesura]
 world of labor and² the march, . . .

Yes, I certainly agree that the poem should be read aloud—or shouted, for it is exclamatory in language, arrogant in the poet's confidence that the "burden" of civilization has passed from Europe to North America, and buoyantly trochaic in time and meter.

From the Transcendentalists Whitman derived his "organic" theory of style, but this was a philosophy rather than a technique. The "organic principle" is of tremendous help in understanding Whitman's prosody, but no one so far has evolved a convincing systematic method for analyzing the "organic" versification of *Leaves of Grass*, though Professor Sculley Bradley's system works very well for some of the shorter poems. The "organic" ideal was that:

The rhyme and uniformity of perfect poems show the free growth of metrical laws and bud from them as unerringly and loosely as lilacs or

² Not even Longfellow wrote trochaic verse with equal stress in accented positions—notice the number of unemphatic syllables beginning lines in "A Psalm of Life."

roses on a bush, and take shapes as compact as the shapes of chestnuts and oranges and melons and pears, and shed the perfume impalpable to form.

I doubt that "the perfume impalpable to form" can ever be measured objectively. Coleridge, Emerson, Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, and countless other romantic poets and philosophers voiced this philosophy of form, but the theory is capable of infinite subjective interpretation. Coleridge, Emerson, and Thoreau wrote in metrical forms, Whitman in free verse, except occasionally when he too used meter, as in "O Captain! My Captain!" and "Pioneers! O Pioneers!"³

Incidentally, Mr. Fletcher seems to have missed the main point in my interpretation of "parallelism" as a prosodic device in *Leaves of Grass*. There is an "organic" philosophy even in Whitman's parallelism (which is primarily a *structure*, but may lead, and often does, to a corresponding repetition, i.e., rhythm, of sounds). Whitman needed a prosodic structure which would symbolize the synonymous nature of the cosmos. The belief that "There can be any number of supremes" runs throughout *Leaves of Grass*. His equalitarianism is absolute, as George Santayana and other unfriendly critics have not been slow to point out. From this point of view the catalogues and the parallelisms of Whitman's style become of fundamental importance.

³ Pasquale Jannaccone, in *La Poesia di Walt Whitman* (1898), p. 28, scans this poem as I do, calling it, because of the marked caesura in the middle of the long lines, trochaic tetrameter. He regards the word "Pioneers" as a dactyl, but he probably was not acquainted with secondary stress in American speech. He scans the second strophe as follows (omitting commas at end of line and the crescent over "O"):

- u - u - u -
 "For we cannot tarry here
 - u - u - u - u - u - u - u
 We must march my darlings/ we must bear the brunt of danger
 - u - u - u - u - u - u - u -
 We the youthful sinewy races,/ all the rest on us depend
 - u u - u u
 Pioneers! O Pioneers!"

Jannaccone says of the poem as a whole that the versification is regular, "within the limits recognized by metrics, with the admission, that is, of catalexis, brachycatalexis and hypercatalexis." (I quote from the unpublished translation of my student, Peter Mitilineos.)

A NOTE ON THE TEXT OF JOSEPH KIRKLAND'S ZURY

KENNETH J. LABUDDE
 Minneapolis, Minnesota

IN THEIR infrequent references to his first novel, *Zury: The Meanest Man in Spring County*, scholars classify Joseph Kirkland as a pioneer American realist. This emphasis on the historical importance of this book has led them to ignore the possibility that Kirkland may be seen more correctly as a transitional figure. Certain changes in the text of *Zury* made by the author after the first printing call attention to the persistence of the sentimental tradition in the novel.

The clue to these changes was found in an excerpt from a letter by Kirkland which Hamlin Garland quotes in his *Roadside Meetings*:

By this mail I send a copy of 'Zury' with my emendations made in preparation for a second edition. The main corrections are those from pp. 219 to 232, where I have added a word to relieve my beloved Anne from any suspicions of wantonness such as (to my surprise) I find some women harboring against her.

If Mr. Howells (name to conjure with) has not yet read 'Zury' I should like him to have use of this amended copy. Also Mr. Baxter. Perhaps it would not be asking too much to beg you to get another copy or copies (chargeable to me, of course) from Houghton, Mifflin and Co. and scribble in the new matter for the use of either of these gentlemen or any other literary person who may be interested. I can not bear to have any one see that poor girl in a false light.¹

Although the publishers did not indicate on the title page that the text of the novel had been changed, later printings of the book incorporated minor but significant revisions in four pages of the text. Whether these revisions in effect were extensive enough to warrant us in using the term second edition is a fine point for the bibliographers. The changes in text were discovered by comparing the copy belonging to the Library of Congress, which bears on its title page the date 1887, with a copy dated 1892. The first printing of the novel was in April, 1887; the only other printing in that

¹ Hamlin Garland, *Roadside Meetings* (New York, 1930), p. 107. Garland did not date this letter, but it would seem to have been written some time between May 16, 1887, the date of his review of *Zury* in the *Boston Transcript*, and June, 1888, the date of the review of the novel by William Dean Howells in *Harper's*.

year was of 270 copies in December.² Therefore the Library of Congress copy belongs either to the first or to the second printing, probably the former.³ The following textual differences distinguish these two examples of what has been considered the single edition of *Zury*.

1887 copy

Strange beasts and reptiles seemed to be darting past her, fleeing from the fire. *She does not know to this day whether they were real or imaginary.*

"How much trouble I make you," she whispered.

(P. 219, ll. 17 ff.; p. 219 has thirty-two lines of text, the regular number for a full page of text.)

She sat up in her low niche, vainly trying to reduce her clothes to some kind of order. *Day had dawned, and she no longer cared what became of him—or of herself.*

There he was, in all his undisguised vulgarity. Coarse and shabby, base and ignorant, egotistical and boorish, glorying in qualities he ought to be ashamed of; possessed by sordid greed, *and—ammonia!*

He brought her her shoes and stockings and silently gave them to her to put on.

(p. 224, ll. 7 ff.)

"Noth'n' no time?"

"No; go back East, perhaps."

1892 copy

Strange beasts and reptiles seemed to be darting past her, fleeing from the fire. *She only knew that a strong man's arm was about her, holding her close to a fearless heart.*

"How much trouble I make you," she whispered.

(P. 219, ll. 17 ff.; p. 219 of this copy has thirty-three lines; therefore one line has been interpolated.)

She sat up in her low niche, vainly trying to reduce her clothes to some kind of order. *Day had dawned, she no longer feared to be alone; she wished it.*

There he was, in all his undisguised vulgarity. Coarse and shabby, base and ignorant, egotistical and boorish, glorying in qualities he ought to be ashamed of; possessed by sordid greed,—*not now the strong, knightly champion of distressed womanhood. Night's glamour was gone.*

He brought her her shoes and stockings and silently gave them to her to put on.

(p. 224, ll. 7 ff.)

"Noth'n' no time?"

"No; go back East, perhaps."

² Houghton Mifflin Company to Kenneth J. LaBudde, Nov. 6, 1947 (Boston, Massachusetts).

³ Copyright law requires that two copies of a book receiving copyright be submitted to the Library of Congress. It is customary to submit copies from the first printing.

"Wal, naow!"
(p. 231, ll. 5 ff.)

Shall I go?"
"Wal, naow!"
(p. 231, ll. 5 ff.)

"Naow we're good friends, ain't we?"

"Same as ever."

"Ye don't think hard o' me fer—
nothin'?"
(p. 232, ll. 26 ff.)

"Naow we're good friends, ain't we?"

"Same as ever. If that is what you wish."

"Ye don't think hard o' me fer—
nothin'?"
(p. 232, ll. 26 ff.)

The new lines emphasize an Anne who thinks only of protection from her great fear, being alone in the dark. Zury is her protector. Anne is made to depend more explicitly upon the decision of Zury in the added "Shall I go?" and "If that is what you wish": she becomes a clinging vine and thus is brought more fully within the sentimental tradition. But in becoming more "respectable" she is no longer true to Kirkland's original conception of the character, for Anne was obviously meant to be a strong-minded woman who made her own decisions.

Kirkland had indicated clearly in Chapter VI that it was important to the reader to know that Anne was a young New England bluestocking who had come under the influence of Fourierism:

Fourierism aimed at giving every human being an honorable chance to live; no wonder it gained passionate adherents from the ranks of New England women, Anne Sparrow among the rest. . . . As to Anne's part in it, we need not inquire how far from the beaten track her "broad views" led her. Whatever she did was not done from wickedness; it was in accordance with her honest opinions of right and wrong, and not in violation of them. Her lips are sealed; she had neither praise nor blame to bestow on her former friends at the time when she begins to be connected with our story. That is, when her theories, her independence, her pride, her strength, her weakness, had led her far out into the West,—to Wayback in Spring County, Illinois.⁴

There is a further hint that Anne had accepted at one time the Fourieristic doctrines pertaining to marriage in the scene in which she suddenly loses interest in signing her schedule of appointment as a teacher. This occurs when Zury asks her perfunctorily, "Mar-

⁴ *Zury: The Meanest Man in Spring County* (Boston, 1892), pp. 91-92.

ried or single?"⁵ Anne signs the schedule only after she has the word of the local lawyer that in the state of Illinois a common-law marriage is not recognized except upon the existence of "the words of marriage, and the living together, *both*. . . ."⁶

When Anne declines the proposal of marriage made by the Methodist minister, Mr. Masten, she announces emphatically her disagreement with the Calvinistic code of the frontier:

"Now Mr. Masten! . . . I told you, at the outset, that I was not in sympathy with the most important part of your life. . . . You orthodox saints seem to think that we heterodox sinners are only waiting for you to come along and tell us the news—to unfold your scheme of redemption that we may subscribe to it. You are mistaken—we decline your views because we know all about them and think they are *foolish*!"⁷

It seems evident that Kirkland had intended originally to show the conflict between the moral standards of a young New England woman who had come under the influence of the advanced ethical thought of her day and the moral code of a "region where a public, spasmodic regeneration was looked upon as necessary to individual salvation."⁸ Kirkland in shifting to the theme of the woman taken advantage of by man may have gained the approval of some of his readers, but the change can only reflect a shallowness in the writer's literary conception.

⁵ P. 145.

⁷ P. 284.

⁶ P. 169.

⁸ P. 151.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized through the year 1949 a joint-subscription rate of \$7.20 for *PMLA* and *American Literature*. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square, East, New York, N. Y.

Both the Duke University Press and the Treasurer of the Modern Language Association have had so much difficulty with the joint subscriptions that they have decided hereafter to take only subscriptions which begin with the January or March number of American Literature. Those members of the Association whose subscriptions expire with other numbers may purchase the odd numbers from the Duke University Press (\$1.00 each).

The Duke University Press offers to students (graduate and undergraduate) who wish to subscribe to *American Literature* a special subscription price of \$2.00 a year. Subscriptions must be accompanied by an endorsement from the instructor in charge of the student's work in American literature. Blanks may be secured from the Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

J. B. H.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- The Purpose and Method of Sherwood Anderson. Earl Hilton (Minnesota).
- A Biographical and Critical Study of Gamaliel Bradford. Irene Murphy (Kansas).
- Form and Symbol in the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Mrs. Hazel Thornburg Emry (Indiana).
- Hawthorne in England. Ralph W. Aderman (Wisconsin) [erroneously attributed, XX, 339, to Ralph M. Alderman].
- The Genesis and Early Development of Howells's Basic Ideas. Howard Munford (Harvard, American Civilization).
- The Portrayal of the Moral World in the Novels of William Dean Howells. Rev. John F. Coholan, M.M. (Notre Dame).
- Henry James's *The Tragic Muse*: A Critical and Textual Study of the Last Novel of the "Middle Years." Regina Roth (Ohio State).
- A Critical Analysis of the Stories of Herman Melville. Mrs. Annette Peters Seldon (Indiana).
- Herman Melville's Technique and Style in *Moby-Dick*. Barbara Morehead (Chicago).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- American Negro Literature: An Interpretative Study in Genre and Ideas. Clinton F. Oliver (Harvard, American Civilization).
- Satire in American Drama. Vera L. Mowry (Pittsburgh).
- The Objective Treatment of the "Hard-boiled Hero" in American Fiction: A Study in the Frontier Background of Modern American Literature. Philip Durham (Northwestern).
- The Kentuckian as Portrayed in Literature. George Grise (Peabody).
- Midwestern Literature: Autobiographies of Boyhood and Youth. Richard K. Welsh (Indiana).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

- The Beginnings of Literary Culture in Columbus, Ohio, 1812-1840. Lucile Clifton (Ohio State, 1948).
- The Era of Joseph Stevens Buckmister: Life and Letters in the Boston-Cambridge Community, 1800-1815. Lewis P. Simpson (Texas, 1948).

Literature as Livelihood: The Attitude of Certain American Writers toward Literature as a Profession from 1820 to the Civil War. George F. Cronkhite (Harvard, 1948).

IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED:

Studies in the American Vogue of Dickens. Harvey S. Gibson (Duke).

Thoreau and Early American Writers: The Genesis of Thoreau's Concept of Nature. Frank Fletcher (Michigan).

V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Richard E. Amacher (Rutgers University) is preparing a collected textual edition of the Benjamin Franklin *Bagatelles*, and would appreciate information on unlisted manuscripts or Passy imprints.

Rollo G. Silver (Peabody Institute Library) is preparing a directory of the Baltimore book trade from 1800 to 1830.

Elizabeth Thorogood (3133 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.) is preparing a directory of the Washington, D. C., book trade from 1800 to 1830.

LEWIS LEARY
Bibliographer

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Durham, N. C.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE TIMES OF MELVILLE AND WHITMAN.. By Van Wyck Brooks. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1947. vii, 489 pp. \$5.00.

With this book—the fourth of his “history of the literary life in America”—Van Wyck Brooks fills the gap between *The Flowering of New England* and *New England: Indian Summer*, providing the third volume of his total work of five. The only period, from the time of Washington Irving to his own, still to be covered is that of his own childhood and early literary life. When completed, the “history” will be Mr. Brooks’s record of his own rediscovery of our “usable past,” the product of a quarter of a century of reading and reliving the books of our ancestors to the fourth and fifth generations.

Seldom in the history of reviewing has a major work by an important writer been so grossly misrepresented as has this survey of our literary life. The fault is partly Mr. Brooks’s own for spending so long a time quietly and consistently at work on an ambitious piece of writing which fits no known category and which he either could not or would not himself define until now. For it is not a history of literature, a history of thought, a history of culture, even a history of taste. It is precisely what he now at last says it is: a history of the literary life in America.

Furthermore, the scope of the project has enlarged and the method of treatment changed as the work progressed; the volumes have appeared in an apparently random and unchronological order; and, finally, this is not the work that Mr. Brooks in his earlier writings led us to expect of him. The Van Wyck Brooks of 1908 to 1927 seems almost a different person from the author of this history; instead of being a probing and penetrating critic of the psychological and sociological schools as we once assumed him to be, he is a gentleman of taste with a capacity for conveying his enthusiasms for the quaint, the vital, and the provocative in the American literary past. Whether this massive but still charming chronicle is great or not remains to be determined, but it is neither good nor bad for the reasons the earlier reviewers offered.

Taken singly, however, the present volume corrects several of the sins of omission in the earlier ones. The New England of the *Flowering* and that of the *Indian Summer* were separated by no great chronological gap, but together they formed a singularly provincial study. They virtually forgot the Civil War, ignored the frontier and the changes which were occurring in the West and South, and omitted at least three of the

major authors of the times: Melville, Whitman, and Mark Twain. The present volume deals with all of these matters.

Anyone who remembers *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* will turn these pages eagerly to find out what the new Brooks has to say to the old on this most controversial of subjects. He has not changed his mind, but he has changed his values. The old schizophrenic split is still at the heart of this new interpretation, but the anxiety about it is gone. Mark Twain now appears as the greatest of our folk artists, the most versatile of our local colorists, a Don Quixote in the rusty armor of Southern chivalry, and a sellout to Andrew Carnegie. And anyone who searches here for a key to the personalities of those other two thwarted geniuses, Melville and Whitman, will be disappointed. Mr. Brooks understands them both and has enjoyed reading them and living with them. He discusses their strengths and their weaknesses with warmth and tolerance, but he nowhere becomes involved in their inner lives. They move as in a panorama rather than in a tragedy across his pages. Their greatness is not agony-born.

Rather, it is born of "the general Mazzinian belief that nations have their missions and Whitman's special belief in the mission of his own," a belief shared by Mr. Brooks. The lives of even great writers here merge into the life of a nation in civil war and reconstruction and become important only as they express, in a highly personal way, the vitality and the uniqueness of that nation. The book would almost better have been called *The Times of Horace Greeley*, for the events of the era are seen from the offices of the New York *Tribune*, and Greeley rather than Melville, or even Whitman, provides the angle of vision. The modern critic adds only the perspective of time to the faith of the early journalist in an expanding nation and in a moral mankind. The result is that relatively minor authors like Bret Harte, Edward Eggleston, Constance Fenimore Woolson, and Sidney Lanier receive illuminating treatment while the greatness of the great remains largely unexplained.

The lack of sympathy for the Middle and Far West, which so weakened the earlier work on Mark Twain, is here generously corrected in so far as it can be by the reading of books, and it would be hard to find a more fair and discriminating treatment of the transition from the Old to the New South in its literary expression. Without using the old tags of "realism" and "local color," Mr. Brooks has collected the evidence necessary to an understanding of those movements and has bridged the gap between Emerson and Howells by a study of those writings which were produced, for the most part, outside of New England. As he moves from the Concord center of his first two volumes, his knowledge is more derivative and the tendency to make minor errors of fact increases, but

his picture of the total literary life in America becomes more accurate because of its greater range.

It may finally be decided that these four (or five) books are more important as a study of the development of their author than as an historical treatise, and for this purpose they must be kept in the unchronological order of their publication. For Mr. Brooks has never ceased to grow and change, and his writings are the record of an insatiable search for the national idealism which seemed at the close of the century to have been lost. For himself at least, in these books he is discovering the "usable past" which he cried out for at the start of his literary career, and his quest is one of the most dramatic literary stories of our time.

University of Pennsylvania.

ROBERT E. SPILLER⁺

THE SHAPERS OF AMERICAN FICTION, 1798-1947. By George Snell. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc. 1947. 316 pp. \$3.75.

This book has just enough merit to be tantalizing. The idea of studying American fiction by relating recent work to that of earlier writers is good; so is the proposal for a new classification of authors, in which each division "starts with its progenitive author and progresses to the major contemporaries in its category." Too many treatments of twentieth-century fiction have suffered from blindness to literary traditions and conventions set up before 1900, and too many works on early American fiction have made the books which they discuss lifeless historical monuments by neglecting their relation to writing in our own times. Mr. Snell's method avoids both pitfalls and should be suggestive to other historians. Similarly every student and teacher of fiction knows how stereotyped and meaningless the old familiar labels for types of narrative writing may be, and how valuable it would be to have a set of more accurately descriptive and more easily definable terms. Unfortunately, however worthy its purposes, Mr. Snell's book has too many faults to be satisfactory to any critical audience.

For one thing it shows signs of haste or carelessness. "Joins" for "joints" (p. 53), "Yamasee" for "Yemassee" (p. 29), and "Granduer" for "Grandeur" (p. 308) are probably no more than trivial misprints, but it is disturbing to read that Edith Wharton "was content to remain in her native land" and never "attempted a transplanting" to Europe—a statement which, even if taken figuratively, runs counter to the facts. It is awkward, unless one stretches standard definitions, to say that Melville's *White-Jacket* offers an "undeviating matter-of-fact report of life." There is a place in the *New Yorker* for the unblocked metaphors of such

a sentence as: "In one gigantic stride Melville outstripped all, and poured into one vast book the white-hot torrent of his burning vision, literally pitching the stuff out in sheaf after sheaf." In writing of New England writers of the nineteenth century, Mr. Snell uses "deism" in a context (p. 200) which makes it meaningless, if it is given the accepted theological definition. It is puzzling to be told that Irving's scenic descriptions were as "naturalistic" as Balzac's "enumerating the furnishings of a room" or Zola's description of "the death of a harlot," unless "naturalistic" can be given two different senses in the same sentence. Elsewhere, too, "naturalist" causes difficulties. In a sentence about Dreiser—"This was certainly evidence of the naturalist's interest in the brute fact, that what happened in life could be a transcript for fiction"—the bad construction and the startling suggestion that life "transcribes" fiction, instead of fiction's transcribing life, are less troublesome than the confusion of the theories of the "naturalist" and the "realist." The former was no doubt more concerned with "brute fact" than some so-called realists, but did a belief that "what happened in life" was material for fiction set the naturalist apart from the realists? It is tiresome to have repeated the charge that Irving "purloined" his life of Columbus from Navarrete, and to be told that his "plagiarism of this work has been a scandal among literary historians for many years." If so, literary historians have slandered Irving. Navarrete's work was a collection of original source material and was used by Irving just as it has been and must continue to be by all careful biographers of Columbus.

More important than such criticisms as these is the fact that this book makes curious exclusions in its treatment of modern authors. Ostensibly it concerns "the major contemporary figures" and "outstanding writers of imaginative prose." Sherwood Anderson is mentioned in only two sentences; Sinclair Lewis not at all. Mr. Snell is entitled to his own opinion as to "major" writers, but in this case it is hard to see on what it is based. On the authors he does treat he offers some good comments and partially lives up to the admirably modest aim expressed in his Preface: "My intention was that these chapters should exhibit only the spirit of enthusiasm and inquiry which I believe to be the *sine qua non* of creative criticism." There is no doubt about Mr. Snell's enthusiasm or the zealotry of his inquiry into the books which interest him. Unhappily his enthusiasm and zeal seem sometimes to lead him astray. He praises at some length *Lionel Lincoln*, which most critics regard as one of the weakest of Cooper's novels, and by doing so is forced to leave out of account other novels which surely deserve at least as full treatment. With most of his writers he concentrates disproportionately on one or two books which appeal to him, and neglects others which will seem to

most readers to be worthy of full treatment. No one would quarrel with such emphases if they showed a consistent critical point of view, the expression of which would be challenging; but Mr. Snell's comments, although usually sound enough, are rarely stimulating, since they present neither new and fruitful insights nor the application of a coherent critical standard.

The most interesting thing about the book is its categorization of works of fiction on new lines. Mr. Snell tickets writers as "romantics," "realists," "apocalyptic," and "temperamentists." The first two names are common in the histories of fiction, but the last two are not, and even the first two are here used in senses somewhat different from those conventionally employed.

Mr. Snell bases his division on his belief that the "early story-tellers worked largely from British models, but at the same time . . . were shapers, in the sense that they took the foreign forms and cast them in new molds." Cooper, Brown, Irving, and Howells were "shapers" who "launched four types of fiction in America"—Cooper the "romantic," Brown the "apocalyptic," Irving the "temperamentist," and Howells the "realist." Mr. Snell is very cautious in his claims for his classification. He uses it "for the sake of convenience, rather than for any other reason" and recognizes that it is "impossible to pigeonhole anything so Protean as the creative spirit." He does not "insist on arbitrary systems and definitions" but uses them "merely . . . as aids toward illumination." Students of American fiction will admit the help that a well-chosen system of classification might give, and know all too well that the usual habit of dividing fiction into "romantic," "realistic," or "naturalistic," leads often to confusion. All three terms have a variety of meanings. "Realistic" may apply to a technique often used by "romantics" or "naturalists," or it may define a theory as to what is proper material for fiction and what effect should be sought for in its presentation; "romantic" is a term which, unless carefully controlled, is too broad in its implications and associations to be helpful as a distinguishing label for a story. A "naturalist" may be a "romantic," as Norris was; a "romantic" may write "realism" now and then, as Brown did; and a "realist" may often be hard to separate from the "naturalist" or even, in his less strict moments, from the "romantic." Every teacher of American fiction knows by observation the strange distortions created by pupils who try to put every tale into labeled compartments but find them all of the wrong shape. Time would be saved and misunderstandings avoided if Mr. Snell or someone could devise a new set of precisely definable terms which would accurately indicate fundamental elements in fiction.

Interesting as is Mr. Snell's proposal of two new labels, "Apocalyptic"

and "Temperamentists," neither seems quite workable. The latter is used for a group of eight writers—Irving, Hawthorne, James, Wharton, Cather, Hemingway, Wolfe, and Steinbeck. That Hawthorne learned something from Irving is certain, and the kinship of Hawthorne and James and of James and Wharton has often been noticed. But surely Steinbeck and James, or Irving and Hemingway, are uneasy companions. The relationships Mr. Snell traces among his "temperamentists" exist, no doubt, but similar ones could probably be found among, say, Crane, Hemingway, Brown, and Cooper, each of whom falls into a separate one of Mr. Snell's categories. Whether a grouping of authors is in fact helpful depends on whether it is based on basic identifying characteristics, and it is hard to feel that there are such major traits in common in Wolfe and James, or in Irving and Hemingway. If there are not, putting these authors under the same heading is an exercise in ingenuity rather than an aid in isolating and defining their characteristic qualities. As for "apocalypitics"—Brown, Poe, Melville, Bierce, Hearn, and Faulkner—the title can be made to fit all of them, but are there no others, classified separately by Mr. Snell, who have in most ways stronger ties with Melville or Brown or Poe, for example, than Faulkner or Hearn? If so, is not the "apocalypitics" category rather a possible source of confusion than a help to understanding?

Mr. Snell has done a service in suggesting the desirability of new and more serviceable classifications for American fiction, and it is to be hoped that someone may manage to find them. If anyone does, it seems probable that it will be by dropping the old "realistic," "naturalistic," and "romantic" tags—unless they can be redefined strictly enough to make them usable—and by constructing categories founded on fundamental types of theme and technique instead of on themes alone or superficial aspects of method. The influences on American writers have been so varied and the tenets of literary "schools" so relatively unimportant for many of them that the problem is harder than in some other literatures in which there has been a more rigid control by conventions and more immediate reflection of critical orthodoxies. We need a careful re-examination of what American storytellers have tried to say, of the relations between their form and content, and of their differences and likenesses not in technique or subject alone but in the actual operative effect which depends on both. If such a re-examination leads to the development of new and helpful categories, the gain will be great; if it does not, warning will be served on teachers and students that an American novel or story can be properly understood only when it is studied for what it is, as an independent entity, and not as a product of this or that so-called "school" or "type," mutilated by an individual critic's Procrustean insistence on

fitting works of art to categories rather than categories to works of art.

Harvard University.

KENNETH B. MURDOCK.

INTRODUCTION TO EMILY DICKINSON. By Henry W. Wells. Chicago: Packard and Company. 1947. 286 pp. \$3.00.

This study examines Emily Dickinson as an extraordinary personality that transcended personal relationships and a provincial world to become expressive of universal experience. It presents her as a New England woman perplexed by spiritual and social problems and reviews her relation to literary, philosophical, and mystical traditions. Finally, it examines the technique of the poetry.

Mr. Wells presents new insights in the poetry by considering the fifteen hundred or more poems and fragments, not as various works with varying degrees of success and failure, but as the total work of a poet. He reviews the circumstances of the editing and the publication of the poems. He analyzes the poet in relation to her spiritual and social conflicts. He classes her poems into lyrics, light verse, and epigrams. Most important of all, he marshals the poems from the disorder of their fascicles into first one formation and then another, provoking new perspectives. When the poems are considered in a succession determined by their subject matter, one is impressed with the poet's attitude toward death and with the accumulative force of her microscopic observations of nature and of the spirit. One is surprised to see that one part of the poetry may be read as political rebellion and another part as a system of aesthetics, even though one remains unconvinced that "to the body of *laissez faire* capitalism she clings like the worm to the flesh of Cleopatra" or that her craftsmanship was a disciplined servant of her vision.

The author's purpose is to deliver Emily from Amherst Hill to Parnassus. He authorizes the passport of her poetry with the visa that "her kinship is closer to all great poets than it is to any of her contemporary New Englanders." The personages we envisage her among are as various as opera: Sappho, Meleager, Tu Fu, Li Po, Omar, Shakespeare, Blake, Angelus Silesius. In Elysium, Leopardi and Dante and Herrick welcome her with outstretched hand. Then our attention is called to certain figures at the edge of the landscape: Tennyson, "steeped in a provincial British traditionalism"; Swinburne, "infatuated with the gushing fountain of his words"; Longfellow, Campbell, Crabbe, "suave" Arnold. We feel somehow that these figures, drawn apart, are not only uninstructed in the manners of Parnassus but also inherently rude.

This study has an undertone of argument. Though one is predisposed to the theses in general, he disagrees in matters of emphasis.

Perhaps Emily's art was partly therapeutic; her search for truth, a compensation. But discussion of abnormality in relation to genius puts Emily among an odd group: Nerval, Tasso, Hölderlin, Dostoevsky, Winckelmann, Whitman, Blake.

To call her a mystic is to use the term in its vaguest sense. Infinity, eternity, and God are almost concrete entities in her poetry, but what they explicate is her feeling in the contemplation of them and not their own mystery. She holds infinity in her teacup as deftly as she holds the sunset, but she does not surrender to it. She never loses herself in the unity of God; the closer she comes to him, the more pronounced is her identity.

Mr. Wells does not say of the poems that "there are no dregs, no single drop can be spared." But so strongly does he leave the impression that those who take his book as an actual introduction to Emily Dickinson are going to be perplexed when they turn to the poems. This overemphasis comes from silence.

However, if this study fails to accomplish its aforementioned purpose, the reason is not that it contains these doubtful emphases but that Miss Emily is already as familiar a figure on Parnassus as ever she was on Amherst Hill.

Louisiana State University.

HARRIS DOWNEY.

THOMAS JEFFERSON AMONG THE ARTS. By Eleanor Davidson Berman. New York: Philosophical Library. 1947. xviii, 305 pp. \$3.75.

Thomas Jefferson possessed no formal philosophy of art. Yet art was to this philosopher-statesman "an integral part of life." The author has compiled, particularly from a painstaking examination of Jefferson's published correspondence, an imposing body of material to prove her thesis. Dr. Berman shows that Jefferson's concept of art was primarily utilitarian rather than aesthetic, that "pure" art was largely beyond his understanding. Like Karl Lehmann's recent study of Jefferson's humanism, the present book demonstrates that Jefferson's motivating purpose was the advancement of freedom and the happiness of mankind. Art, Dr. Berman concludes, "held an inviolate place in this scheme: beauty walked hand in hand with the useful." Yet Jefferson was far from being the sort of glorified Philistine conceived by some of his biographers. Dr. Berman's book refutes conclusively the misconception that Jefferson's was a nature unresponsive to beauty or poetic stimuli. The man whose individual aesthetic might most accurately be summed up by his own statement that all art is valuable "which contributes to the principles and practices of virtue" could, on the other hand, "fall in love" with a "delicious morsel"

of statuary or spend an evening over a bowl of punch quoting romantic poetry.

The value of Dr. Berman's book is lessened by a tendency to overstate her thesis. In an otherwise enlightening chapter on Jefferson and painting, for example, she has written what amounts to an apology rather than an objective analysis of Jefferson's quite indiscriminate and indiscriminating prejudices and predilections. Dr. Berman's material is not always sufficiently assimilated; certain sections of individual essays are little more than brief expository passages held together by quotations from her predecessors in the field. The author is inclined to rely too heavily upon some of her sources of inspiration and information. The almost-constant repetition of phrases like "as Dr. Kallen points out," "as Dr. Kallen insists upon saying," "as Dr. Kallen keeps reminding us" becomes cloying, to say the least.

Dr. Berman, too, is overhasty in ascribing to Jefferson the authorship of certain poems on testimony as shaky as that of one of his granddaughters some fifty years after his death (the so-called "Death-Bed Adieu," also ascribed to Jefferson by Samuel Wilder Foote in his recent monograph on Jefferson's religious beliefs), that of one Jefferson editor a half century ago (the "Inscription for an African Slave"), and the conjecture of another Jefferson editor (the "'Tis Hope" verses).

Finally, Dr. Berman's analysis of Jefferson's literary interests is weakened by her tendency to overemphasize the importance of the brief, if extremely revealing, "Skipwith List" of 1771. Her failure to utilize the catalogued collection of some 7,000 volumes which Jefferson compiled for the University of Virginia seems quite indefensible, particularly in the light of her numerous conclusions based on Jefferson's private library and on the "Skipwith List."

University of Missouri.

WILLIAM PEDEN.

AMERICAN PAINTING: *First Flowers of Our Wilderness*. By James Thomas Flexner. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1947. 368 pp. \$10.00.

PANORAMA OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. By W. Tasker Witham. New York: Stephen Daye Press. 1947. 389 pp. \$7.50.

In this book containing 162 large plates, 8 of them in color, Mr. Flexner undertakes to "explain early American pictures in terms of early American life" and conversely to "see the world of our forefathers through the pictures left behind them." Beginning with the influence of medieval manuscript illustrators in provincial England and also of such internationalist court painters as Lely, Kneller, and Van Dyke, the author shows how various cultures have affected the development of

our art. He traces this development from the time of the Freae Limner in the 1670's to the time when, in 1774, the great native genius Copley set sail for England. The Flemish influence along with that of the Dutch masters entered through the culture of New Amsterdam and gave rise to the Patroon art of the Hudson River Valley, the first authentic American school. When the city fell to the British in 1664, the more local vogue of Dutch realism yielded to the court influence of the conquerors. In the South the British court painter Charles Bridges together with many practitioners from several different European countries added to the diversity of colonial painting. (Incidentally, slavery hindered the development of art in the South, since this institution made manual work opprobrious.) Even within the individual style of a single painter, there sometimes existed opposite tendencies. Smibert, for example, was a poor Scottish artisan who married a rich young Boston heiress. His canvases as well as those of Feke, who was influenced by him, consequently show at one time the effects of colonial realism and at another those of British court painting. In spite of this great heterogeneity of cultural tendencies Mr. Flexner concludes that there was a fairly well-unified tradition of American colonial painting: "The basic unity of northern European painting was reflected in the colonies."

The author should be praised highly for his courageous attack on nationalist criticism, his information on attribution of canvases, his interesting writing, his beautiful plates, his valuable annotated bibliography, and his excellent notes. The text of the last chapter is a serviceable recapitulation, although here the plates seem out of the established chronological order. The portrait reproduced on page 104 should be entitled Miss Wilhelmina Byrd, not Mrs. William Byrd. Note 7 on page 294 should probably read "Wilhelmina (sometimes called Mina)" and not Lucy. (Lucy Parke was William Byrd's first wife.) One further connection of the book with literature should be mentioned in passing. If Mr. Flexner is correct, William Williams's *Journal of Llewellyn Penrose* (1784) antedates *The Power of Sympathy* (1789) as the first American novel.

Mr. Witham's purpose has been "to present in words and pictures, a broad view of the subject," with the intention of stimulating popular interest in good books. By recourse to graphic art he has succeeded not only in accomplishing this laudable purpose but also in giving an excellent panoramic impression of our literature. His book contains many interesting and unusual photographs of authors and their homes, drawings and paintings, woodcuts, lithographs, engravings, reproductions of manuscript pages, and many scenes from plays and moving pictures. For example, the pictures of Emerson, Poe, Whitman, Henry James,

Dreiser, Gertrude Stein, Wolfe, and Pound are exceptionally fine, although J. O. Eaton's beautiful portrait of Melville has not been well reproduced. Furthermore, the large and easily legible type is entirely attractive. Mr. Witham's text, however, does not give an equal satisfaction. Several of his statements, as well as his choice of authors, will be challenged. In addition, the bibliography is inadequate. And although the sketches of the individual authors are concisely written, they are generally too scanty and too elementary to be very valuable.

Rutgers University.

RICHARD E. AMACHER.

THE GREAT FOREST. By Richard G. Lillard. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. 399 pp. \$5.00.

This volume, ostensibly an account of the great forest which once covered a large part of the United States, and of its waste and disappearance, is actually much more than that. It is one of those rare works of social history which by a happy selection of theme are able to lay bare the very roots of American culture. The author, a professor of American literature at the University of California at Los Angeles, completed this labor of devotion under a Guggenheim grant.

The promise of life on these shores—Archibald MacLeish has said "America was promises"—is poetically illumined in the first portion, particularly in the prologue entitled "Eden newly sprung from the Ocean." Here are skilfully synthesized not only the facts of the westward movement, but the emerging speech, myth, and mores of the new community as well. There is a wealth of incidental information about the axe and the rifle, about clearing the land, building fences, erecting log cabins and frontier forts, presented not from a spirit of antiquarian curiosity but as an integral factor in the growth of the new society in the diminishing shade of the primeval forest. Such data are an imperative background for Davy Crockett and Leather-Stocking, and for much of the other rough-hewn, indigenous American writing.

While the author carefully disclaims any environmental thesis, the reader cannot help feeling that this account explains much that is salient in the American character as it has developed and, to some extent, as it now exists. Wastage of physical resources was paralleled by the wanton spending of human resources: death and failure were incidental in the grand enterprise of clearing a continent, and the imperative demands of the frontier all too often excluded all but a handful of values leading to physical survival.

The latter half of this study, concerned primarily with the accelerated consumption of our timber heritage and with the slow awakening of

communal conscience, is less impressive because less poetically fused and less primary in providing an understanding of recent American culture. We are inclined to accept the railroad, the coal mine, the sweat shop, the mass-production factory as symbols of the reckless price we pay for contemporary efficiency. As the forests have receded to our borders, they have become as alien as the vanishing Indian. Nonetheless, this chapter in a tragedy of waste is absorbing in its reiteration of the old theme of incontinent exploitation. Inevitably the author is impatient with our riotous past and eager for a conservative policy, yet he is able to do strict justice to a Weyerhauser as well as to a Pinchot. He concludes that though "The long epic of agricultural settlement has ended," our "mighty forests, wonderful still, will play in the future, as in the past, a major role in fulfilling the original promise of American life."

Swarthmore College.

GEORGE J. BECKER.

THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE: *An Interpretation of the History and Civilization of the American People*. By Henry Bamford Parkes. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. xiv, 343 pp. \$3.50.

Professor Parkes has written a readable, provocative, and controversial interpretation of the American experience through its three and one-half centuries. His method is a roughly chronological analysis of selected data from American politics, economics, religion, philosophy, and literature. His objective is not historical research or narration but an effort to understand the meaning of the American past in order "to derive from it a deeper understanding of the problems of the American present." The book is a reader's book and not a text; it has an index but no bibliography, and is largely undocumented.

The thesis of *The American Experience* is that our culture is the unique product of two major forces: the original "impulses and aspirations that caused men and women to leave their European homes" and "the American natural environment." The casting off of European feudalism, clericalism, and the aristocratic heritage made possible a native, agrarian mind which had its cultural culmination in the great years before the Civil War. Thereafter the intrusion of the European system of capitalism undermined the health of the uniquely democratic society whose spokesmen had been Franklin, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln, and whose prophets were Emerson and Whitman. As European class systems developed and political power became subservient to economics America began to lose its unique character. With democratic agrarianism reduced to the level of marginal protest or recollected sentimentality, the United States stumbled along into the present century of great respon-

sibilities stripped of a social philosophy adequately derived from its traditions. Rejecting big business and big government as solutions, and rejecting also any further importation of alien philosophies, Professor Parkes calls for a rebirth of a more complex and modern agrarianism which alone can provide the necessary "synthesis of individual will and social discipline."

Although Professor Parkes's orientation is essentially economic, he makes serious but necessarily brief sallies into the writings of the major American authors. In the chapter "The Agrarian Mind" he discusses Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman as proponents of "what America ought to be," and Poe, Hawthorne, and Melville as interpreters of "what America actually was." He finds them more deeply concerned with man's assertion of will against nature than with man in a social context, and to this he attributes the profound loneliness characteristic of much American writing. In a later chapter on "The Industrial Mind" Twain is characterized as "almost an embodiment of the American norm" in that he was the product of agrarianism (precapitalist democracy) and yet had no sufficiently reasoned social philosophy to withstand the onslaught of a new economic order which he distrusted but found attractive. The same predicament sent Henry James abroad to find "an established social order" by means of which he could develop his profound theme of the differences between the American and European traditions.

The American Experience is apparently the outgrowth of what must have been a stimulating series of graduate seminars in American Civilization at New York University. As such it could be appropriately plowed back into similar seminars at other universities, where it would certainly provoke warm discussion among students already familiar with such writers as Crèvecoeur, De Tocqueville, Bryce, and Turner, or the more recent studies of Parrington, Beard, Gabriel, and Curti. It is from such writers that this book largely derives and with whom in the main it suffers in comparison. The reviewer laments particularly the denial that the American experience has been a reciprocal American-European experience, and has no special sympathy for this or other neo-agrarian movements. Yet on the whole it is a stimulating if somewhat journalistic study.

Rutgers University.

WALTER E. BEZANSON.

"BEN-HUR" WALLACE: *The Life of General Lew Wallace*. By Irving McKee. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1947. 301 pp. \$4.00.

This methodically compiled chronicle provides copious information but little interpretation of Wallace (1827-1905) as man or writer. The

data, though generally external rather than intimate, do add up to a portrait: the frontier-bred romantic, seeking glory and wealth through military exploits, thwarted by circumstance and his own enthusiasm. After Shiloh the West Point generals, jealous or distrustful, cashiered the dashing leader of the Indiana Zouaves, who was thus subdued to such solid chores as the organizing of municipal defenses to ward off the rebel raider. After the war the agents of Juarez niftily exploited Wallace's fantastic projects to exploit Mexican silver mines; his best work in the Southwest was, as Governor of New Mexico, to pacify other men's private armies. In literature too he once hit the jack pot and won a ranking he could not maintain, and the author of *Ben-Hur* (1880) dwindled to the dean of Indiana letters, still concerned to vindicate his conduct at Shiloh, ever trying to write another grand novel or play or poem.

The literary historian who gives Wallace a second thought will ask how *Ben-Hur* expresses the author or his age. But Mr. McKee is content to report casual comments by Wallace or his reviewers, does not venture independent critical analysis, and thus treats the novel as two disparate patches lightly basted: a prose-poetic Nativity and the adventures of a noble Jewish boy, loosely likened to his creator as a passionate defender of dreams. Why was the book so inordinately popular? The historical detail, despite Wallace's pretenses to research, is dim and evasive; the sea fight and the chariot race, later spectacularly staged, are dull. Indeed, the one stirring episode is that in which Roman playboys are taunted into wagering a vast sum on the race, at exorbitant odds. The hero is a gym boy against the vested imperialists, an organizer of militia whose plan to install the Kingdom by the sword outruns the divine strategy; after the brush-off he piously applies his fabulous inheritance to Christian charities. How much of this argument was self-consolation? In what timely ways did it retort to Ingersoll, whom Wallace cross-examined in theology when the novel was half written? What light may his other works, some unpublished, throw on these questions? Mr. McKee, whose judgments would have been informed, leaves the speculator a free field.

Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

PAUL HAINES.

CHAHTA-IMA: *The Life of Adrien-Emmanuel Rouquette*. By Dagmar Renshaw LeBreton. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1947. xix, 442 pp. \$4.00.

When Emerson delivered his epoch-making address on "The American Scholar" to a cultured Cambridge audience in 1837, Louisiana was frontier country. Bustling New Orleans itself was now the fourth largest city in the United States, but only a dozen years before Indians had

roamed in great numbers over the streets of the Crescent City. Today almost every literate person has some knowledge of Emerson and the New England group of writers. But few indeed are those who have any acquaintance with that American literature written not in English but in French by nineteenth-century Louisianians. Differences in language and other insularity-making factors have, of course, been responsible in part. And in part also perhaps, the absence of *chefs-d'œuvre*. But sectionalism falls away, and appreciation of our colorful civilization is increased, in proportion as we learn of the contributions of all our regions, however unequal, to the elaboration of the American epic.

Thanks to the pioneer work of Alcée Fortier and of his son Edward, to the scholarly surveys of Ruby Van Allen Caulfeild (*The French Literature of Louisiana*, 1929) and Edward Larocque Tinker (*Les Écrits de langue française en Louisiane au XIXe siècle*, 1932), foundations have long been laid, and the route charted, for a better understanding of the French literary scene in Louisiana during the last century. Everyone interested in Franco-American literary relations owes them gratitude. But more comprehensive studies of individual authors are needed. Tinker, for example, in his very extensive biobibliographical treatment could not, did not, pretend to give exhaustive studies of the writers included in his book ("Un savant viendra peut-être après moi pour juger cette masse de documents"). To Adrien Rouquette, the subject of the present monograph of four hundred pages, Tinker devoted thirteen. In her rehabilitation of one of the Rouquette brothers from this "masse de documents," Professor LeBreton has added an important chapter to the fascinating story of American culture. The publication of comprehensive and scholarly studies of other nineteenth-century Louisiana-French writers would be definite contributions to a broader understanding of American literary history.

Adrien-Emmanuel Rouquette, upon whom the Choctaw Indians bestowed the name "Chahta-Ima" ("Choctaw-like"), was born in New Orleans in 1813 and died there in 1887. A student at the Collège d'Orléans, in the Preparatory Department of the University of Transylvania, and at Mantua in Pennsylvania, he also spent four years in Brittany, where his conversion took place, where he attended the Collège Royal de Nantes, and where at Rennes in 1833 he received the Bachelor of Arts degree. He returned to New Orleans in the same year. Later he was to make several trips to France, on one of which he pursued legal studies in Paris. But despite his French background and studies, France was never a second *patrie* to Rouquette. In 1842 he entered the seminary of St. Vincent de Paul in Assumption Parish and was ordained a priest in 1845, the first native Louisianian to enter the priesthood after the ces-

sion of Louisiana to the United States. Appointed an assistant priest at St. Louis Cathedral, he also served as secretary to the Bishop until 1859, around which year he established himself as a missionary to the Louisiana Choctaws.

Priest and poet, this French-speaking Creole was an apostle of Americanism. "It seems a little odd," wrote Orestes Brownson in his *Quarterly Review* in 1860 apropos of Rouquette's *L'Antoniade*, "to find one of the most genuine American poems that has ever issued from the American press written in the language of France by an author born . . . in America." This quality of Americanism, characteristic of the whole man, is made eminently clear by Professor LeBreton's careful documentation. A native of exotic New Orleans, Rouquette, like Jefferson, had a distrust of cities. Unlike Emerson, he blew no clarion for action but proclaimed the necessity of contemplation. He preached and practiced the eremitic life, established hermitage-chapels in St. Tammany Parish, and published in 1852 *La Thébàide en Amérique ou l'Apologie de la vie solitaire et contemplative*. He believed "the climate of America favored saintliness" and, like Père Aubry in Chateaubriand's *Atala*, went about proving it to Choctaws whose language he learned and of which he compiled a dictionary. But if to Rouquette Ste Rose of Lima was a powerful symbol, so was Morse and so Robert Fulton; he was wide-awake to the potentialities of young America. He was also impatient with the inaccurate descriptions of the American scene given by strangers. In the Preface to *Les Savanes, poésies américaines*, he wrote that "we alone know and we alone can depict faithfully our native country, that land in which we have experienced the course of our joyous childhood and where we hope to see the melancholy sunset of our old age." Chateaubriand, said Rouquette, who in his novel, *La Nouvelle Atala ou la fille de l'esprit, légende indienne* (1879) gave his spiritual testament, was "a stranger in America and could not admire and describe with an American heart."

With restraint and without myopia, Professor LeBreton has more than reached the mark she set for herself: to present a Louisiana Creole as an American man of letters—and in so doing she has helped to dispel some of the ignorance concerning Louisiana's contribution to national life and letters. For the meaning and lasting significance of Adrien Rouquette, whether as poet or patriot, is, to the reviewer, precisely in the quality of his Americanism. The biography is thoroughly documented. It utilizes mostly unpublished materials and draws heavily upon contemporary newspapers. The style is smooth, with here and there moss-colored splotches. There are diffuseness and repetitiousness. But it is an honest book, and interesting. It includes a critical essay on authorities, a chronological bibliography of the works of Rouquette, and a very good index.

The book is pleasing physically, well-designed and well-printed, with end-paper drawings and illustrations by the author.

University of Michigan.

PAUL M. SPURLIN.

THE CANDIDATES: *or, the Humours of a Virginia Election*. By Colonel Robert Munford. Edited with an Introduction by Jay B. Hubbell and Douglass Adair. Williamsburg: Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1948. 43 pp. \$1.50.

"Colonel Robert Munford has failed, somehow, to receive the recognition which his work merits. His exquisite satire, displayed in *The Candidates*, written before the war, and in *The Patriots*, written, apparently, in the war's early years, merits for him a high place in early American literature." So wrote Professor Walter Blair in his Chicago dissertation in 1926. Twenty-two years later appears the only modern printing of *The Candidates*.

Munford's *Collection of Plays and Poems* published at Petersburg in 1798 exists in seven copies. The present volume is reprinted from the April, 1948, issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly*. Professors Hubbell and Adair have given us a faithful reproduction of the original text of *The Candidates*, with a brief but historically accurate and critically perceptive introduction. This is certainly one of the earliest plays written in America. Date of composition is indicated as 1770 by a reference in the opening speech to the recent death of "our good old governor Botetourt," who died October 15, 1770.

Munford was well qualified by experience to write on political subjects. He served as sheriff and justice of the peace in Mecklenburg County and was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses and to the General Assembly. According to the Preface, "*The Candidates* is intended to laugh to scorn the practice of corruption and falsehood of which many are guilty in electioneering." If we accept the date of composition as 1770, we establish the play as our first dramatic political satire. Sharp, Gripe, and Catchum, the three English governors in *Ponteach* (1766), represent anti-British propaganda rather than native political satire. These candidates are genuine American characters, represented with realism, humor, and satire. The play exposes the political deals of the several candidates, their false campaign promises, the buying of votes with liquor, a whispering campaign that backfires, various other electioneering practices which, Professor Blair says, "fit into a picture of the politics of today as well as they did into the politics of yesterday."

The plot is slight and uncomplicated. Sir John Toddy, Mr. Strut-about, and Mr. Smallhopes are unsuccessful in their various unworthy

schemes for winning the election; and Mr. Worthy and Mr. Wou'dbe are elected. Low comedy characters include freeholders Guzzle, Twist, Stern, and Prize, with their wives. Of particular interest is the first American stage Negro, Wou'dbe's servant, Ralpho, whose comic device consists of malapropisms five years before *The Rivals* was written. There is broad comic dialogue and lively action.

The play was certainly intended for the stage, and is provided with a prologue "By a Friend." We know that efforts were made to have it produced, yet we have no record of its production. Notices of plays were usually carried in local newspapers, and plays by local authors were featured productions, but no notice of *The Candidates* has been found. There were, however, active theaters in Richmond, Petersburg, and Norfolk during this period, and production may yet be established, most likely in Petersburg or Norfolk.

Professors Hubbell and Adair have given us an excellent edition of a dramatically interesting and historically significant play, worth more, both in terms of literary skill and cultural record, than many frequently anthologized pieces from this period. Let us hope that we may soon have a comparable edition of Munford's second play, *The Patriots*.

Evansville College.

MARTIN SHOCKLEY.

GRADUATE WORK IN THE SOUTH. By Mary Bynum Pierson. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1947. xii, 265 pp. \$4.00.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH: *A Report of Cooperative Studies Conducted under the Auspices of the Committee on Work Conferences on Higher Education of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools*. With a Preface by O. C. Carmichael. Editorial and Executive Committee: Edgar W. Knight, Chairman; Roger P. McCutcheon; Roscoe E. Parker, Executive Secretary. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1947. viii, 171 pp. \$2.75.

The first of these volumes is primarily a historical and statistical study of graduate education in the South, particularly since 1900. The second, assembled as the end product of three work conferences attended by a total of 363 delegates, is offered as a blueprint for higher education in and, for that matter, out of the South. It is said to represent "the best collective thinking and judgment of workers in higher education in the South," although it is also said, somewhat paradoxically, to represent in some instances the lowest common denominator of the group's thinking. It is "the culmination of years of study, conference, and discussion" which involved the expenditure of perhaps \$50,000, of which \$30,000 was supplied by the General Education Board. The two volumes are comple-

mentary in that, together, they comprise a revealing introduction to collegiate and graduate education in the South, with interesting side lights on the academic mind in the same region.

Dr. Pierson's conscientious survey focuses attention through its text and tables on the poverty up to the present of human and material resources for graduate education in the eleven states which formed the Southern Confederacy. One is not surprised at the slight evidence of true graduate study in the South before 1900, considering the fact that the Johns Hopkins University, file leader in the United States, was not founded until 1876. Before 1900, most Southern degrees were probably granted *honoris causa* rather than in course. Since 1900 Southern institutions have moved gradually to standardize existing practices and to improve resources. Workers in these graduate schools deserve high praise for their efforts to do much with little, to contribute greatly to the Southern region with a minimum of money to work with.

The record indicates that the dominant graduate schools have been those of the University of North Carolina and the University of Texas, joined in recent years by that of Duke University and supported throughout by those of Vanderbilt and of the University of Virginia. If Dr. Pierson had chosen to comment on the effects of political interference with free thought, she might have noted that because of such interference the University of Texas seems to be in danger of losing its eminence as a graduate school.

The present movement to eliminate segregation of races in graduate schools has produced what is without doubt the most important issue ever to confront and vex administrations of Southern state-supported universities. Dr. Pierson has a chapter on "Graduate and Professional Work for Negroes," and it is in this chapter that her work of interpretation may be most seriously questioned. She takes the dominant, conservative Southern position, a position from which one must dissent though without discounting the weight of tradition and racial prejudice which supports it. In the light of the events of our time, however, it seems possible that future historians of education in the United States may consider this chapter an instance of almost compulsive misconception. The keynote is struck in one sentence: "Separation of the races had created an opportunity and had given the greatest guarantee to the professional Negro ever afforded in the entire United States." Pursuit of this echo of the ante-bellum "positive good" theory would lead one to suppose that all progressive Negroes need a refresher course in the British empiricists to remind them of the doctrine of enlightened self-interest. By this same reasoning, every intelligent Negro who ever left the South for the North made a practical blunder.

The violent evasive action which marks the usual white Southern approach to the question of segregation is interpreted by Dr. Pierson as being a square facing of the issue. Many Southern educators take every possible solution to be plausible except that one inevitable step which the South must take, eventually, for reasons both economic and moral.

Perhaps the most permanently interesting part of this volume is the appendix of tables showing the distribution of advanced degrees conferred by Southern colleges and universities. These tables reward close attention and suggest, incidentally, two topics for the agenda of the next conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools: (1) Is there any justification for the Ph.D. degree in speech? Louisiana State University bestowed 18 such degrees between 1935 and 1945, conferring only 16 in English and 5 in history in the same period. (2) Is it possible to do anything about the spate of higher degrees granted in the field of education? The George Peabody College processed 4,962 master's candidates between 1915 and 1945. Between 1934 and 1945 the same institution certified 107 doctors of philosophy in education and, it should be added, 30 in English.

As one might expect of a study which tends to be statistical and abstract in its method, Dr. Pierson's book fails to give the reader an adequate concrete impression of what actually goes on in Southern graduate schools. It is also true that experts may point to omissions and to inexactness in matters of detail. (For example, the titles of a number of learned journals are omitted from the list discussed on pages 96-99.) In general, however, this volume is to be commended as an extremely useful compilation.

When reading *Higher Education in the South*, the second volume treated in this review, one is struck by the discrepancy between the breadth and grandness of intention and the quite limited achievement. We have here a set of highly condensed, ill-digested chapters, which contain, nevertheless, many excellent ideas. The book is fundamentally incoherent in that it leans indiscriminately on the Harvard report, hearsay, stray theory divorced from evidence, and diluted Deweyism. It contains, however, a strong, redeeming chapter on the organization and administration of higher education, a chapter which should be read with attention by deans, presidents, and ordinary faculty members. In this chapter the writers comment shrewdly on existing conditions and on what should be the general pattern of administration in a democratic country.

The question at once arises as to why—considering the number of man-hours expended on it—the book is not better than it is. One may suggest that co-operative enterprise appears to be feasible in the sciences, useful on textual and bibliographical subjects, but wasteful and difficult to control in the world of ideas. A better, more consistent volume on

educational theory and practice could have been produced had a carefully chosen group of six or eight experts been immured for thirty days in a library with instructions to emerge bearing an appropriate treatise in manuscript.

There remains a second question. One may wonder if the fundamental purpose of the studies and conferences on which the volume is based was not to raise the general level of pedagogic thought in the area by stimulating discussion rather than to produce an important written report. A possible answer, then, to the charge that co-operative research on a subject of this kind is not fruitful is that discovery and research are not intended; what is intended is a pooling and reshuffling of ideas and experiences. One assumes under this theory that the by-products of the conferences were naturally more valuable than the end product. Of course, one may argue that the General Education Board could in this instance have secured comparable results in some other way more directly and at less cost. But probably one's chief complaint is that the claims made for the published report are exaggerated.

To appreciate the reasons for the deficiencies in the report as educational theory, it may be helpful to construct what the social scientists call "an ideal type," that is, a generic type of the phenomenon in question, a series of work conferences. The ideal type, abstracted from what one knows of the essential features of such large conference projects, may be sketched as follows:

An enterprising college president convinces a foundation of the worth of an idea for a set of conferences, perhaps assuming that his display of interest and initiative will be rewarded later by the grant of funds for some special project that he has in mind for his own college. The foundation is willing to be convinced, for the idea relates to a "backward area," and it is the legal duty of the foundation to spend money, particularly in and on problem spots. There is some writing back and forth, and select presidents, deans, and distinguished professors pass a delightful week in the mountains walking, fishing, and trading ideas. They discuss educational theory in the meetings of the special committees to which they have been assigned. Although pleasant, the conference is inconclusive. By virtue of their routine duties, most of the men at this conference are, indeed, more interested in academic politics and personalities than they are in pedagogic principles. But written reports following such conferences are an article in the mores, and a second conference is slated so that the large questions raised at the first may be answered in satisfactory written form. After a year's time the second conference is held, but the personnel has changed. A number of deans and presidents have dropped out and have sent substitutes. The substitutes are briefed on

the happenings of the previous summer; then discussions begin. Differences of opinion arise which may not be easily dissipated. Provisional group reports are drawn up at the end of the conference and are circulated among the interested faculty members of the participating colleges.

Specialists who have not attended the conferences criticize the provisional reports adversely, and a third conference is patently necessary to bring order from confusion. The deans and presidents who attended the first conference are now absorbed in other affairs. It is clear that the published results will not shed particular luster on anyone, and, to put it frankly, the third conference is turned over to the rank and file with a few conscientious deans along as shepherds. The briefing process is repeated; disagreements are intensified; time grows short; and small subcommittees are appointed with instructions to prepare finished section reports. Chairmen of the subcommittees sit at their typewriters for the last two days of the conference and far into the night, working from provisional reports, accumulated notes, and copies of *General Education in a Free Society*. They strive to include in their manuscripts as much as they can of what has been generally agreed on in the meetings and to eliminate the more glaring contradictions. They turn their reports over to the chairman of the editorial committee, who eliminates one or two infelicities of style, decides that it would not be practicable to attempt a general editing to reduce the whole to ideological uniformity, and sends the manuscript to the printer. No one takes much interest in proof-reading the finished volume.

Such an ideal type and such a procedure must lie back of the present report. Chapter I calls attention to the standardizing and stabilizing influence of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools since its organization in 1895. Needed quantitative triumphs have been won, it points out, and qualitative advances must be attempted. Chapter II distinguishes between general and special education. The next three chapters survey the humanities, natural sciences, and social sciences, and make recommendations for improved methods of instruction. The remaining chapters discuss the improvement of qualitative standards, the education of teachers, the graduate school, the organization and administration of higher education, student personnel work, the library, and the relations of college and community.

The chapter on the humanities (certainly one of the more useful in the volume) is representative. Here is the expected statement of faith in the importance of the humanities, a short list of their aims, brief essays on the separate "humanities," and minuscule discussions of the relations of the humanities to each other and to the sciences. Added are scattered paragraphs on the need for good teachers, capable librarians, effective

graduate training, careful testing procedures, and adequate extracurricular and community activities. Finally, the chapter offers in a summary some rather conventional recommendations.

Two recommendations discussed in the chapter proper and repeated in the summary illustrate the almost necessarily irresponsible eclecticism characteristic of such group reports. First, the conferees urgently recommend a proficiency test in English in the junior or senior years as a requirement for graduation. Second, referring to the Army Training Program, they state: "Language laboratories in which students may work with native informants have proved of such value that their use should be expanded. It has been shown that in this way the good student not only learns to speak the language but also learns the more rapidly to read and write it."

A proficiency test in English may be desirable. The point is that the group preparing the section on the humanities seems not to have had in hand evidence justifying a blanket recommendation in its favor. Participants in the conference indicate that they had little evidence of the virtue of such tests and that they know of only one institution in the region which made use of one at the time.

As for the second recommendation, if one may rely on Robert J. Matthew's supposedly authoritative *Language and Area Studies in the Armed Services*, the only positive statement one may make about wartime language programs is that there is no way to evaluate their methods without additional, controlled experiments: "The wealth of materials regarding results of these courses published in the educational and public press, based on the opinion of instructors, students, and observers, or on mere hearsay, is so confused and so often contradictory that it offers no safe basis for categorical statements respecting success in achievement of goals set by the Army and Navy." Again, "There is little if any objective data available to substantiate the many claims that have been made of the success of the courses."

To sum up impressions of the two volumes reviewed here—one by a single scholar, one by a large group of scholars—Dr. Pierson's book contributes valuable information on graduate education in readily usable form. The second book—the report of the 363 conferees meeting in various committees and subcommittees—repeats unsystematically and sometimes in inappropriate frameworks ideas that are more systematically expressed in other volumes. This does not mean that the report is one which will do harm. On the contrary, the contributors have labored faithfully and with high purpose. It is not their fault that large work conferences do not constitute an adequate basis for a good book on educational theory. A question raised earlier in this discussion may bear

repetition: What kinds of inquiries may be treated successfully by large groups of scholars? Perhaps a foundation could be persuaded to subsidize a series of work conferences to deal with this problem.

The University of Maryland.

GUY A. CARDWELL.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHONETICS OF AMERICAN ENGLISH. By Charles Kenneth Thomas. New York: The Ronald Press Company. 1947. ix, 181 pp. \$3.00.

Professor Thomas describes his book as "a text for the study of the pronunciation of English in the United States." Designed primarily for elementary courses in phonetics, it presents in simple and convenient form a large body of generally accurate information. Two principles are recognized throughout as fundamental: first, "that the distinctive sound unit, or phoneme, is basic to our understanding of speech," whereas nondistinctive variations are less important, and second, that the regional differences within American English should yet be recognized and scientifically studied. Professor Thomas knows the work of men like Bloomfield, Fries, and Kurath; his own contributions to linguistic geography have been by no means insignificant; and with sound knowledge he combines skill in clear and logical exposition. After three broadly introductory chapters, he surveys the sounds of English from the "simple" to the more "difficult," introduces some elementary matters of phonetic theory, and concludes with discussions of regional types and of standards of American pronunciation. Previews and summaries, charts, maps, phonetic transcriptions, simple exercises, and a bibliography make the tasks of teacher and student easier, though the teacher will have to correct far more misprints than should have been tolerated in a linguistic work. The maps in particular, which delimit seven "major speech areas," will help to modify the now somewhat antiquated division into Eastern, Southern, and General American.

There will be many, then, who will welcome Professor Thomas's *Introduction* and who will consider both its title and its Preface almost unduly modest. On one point, however, it is open to serious objection. Given the purposes of the book, a strongly normative approach was perhaps inevitable, and Professor Thomas makes free use of terms like *standard* and *substandard*. Unfortunately, it is not always easy to say precisely what he means by them. "Standard" pronunciation is not ordinary rapid speech—that is sometimes called careless (p. 40); for as a mean between the substandard and the pedantic (p. 119), the standard is also opposed, in some way, to the colloquial (p. 67). And the standard is not always determined by the usage of a majority in a given area (pp.

75, 147): the judgments of speakers and critics, as well as the facts of usage, are involved (p. 134). Sometimes Professor Thomas's own judgments are misguided, as when he condemns pronunciations of *trough* (p. 38), *coupon* (p. 55), *naked* (p. 57), *thither* (p. 60), *murmur* (p. 75), and the suffix *-ing* (p. 64) of which no reasonable criticism can be made, and sometimes he misrepresents the facts of speech, as in his comment on *mockingbird* (p. 150). Like most linguists, he knows less of Southern speech than of the speech of other areas, but his relatively few factual blunders are not so troublesome as the obscurity in his definition of *standard*. "The traditional American goal of rising in the world," Professor Thomas concludes, "can rarely be achieved by speech improvement alone, but speech improvement often helps." That is all very well, if one is foolish enough to set his heart on rising in the world; but what is speech improvement?

So good a book ought not to end so feebly.

University of Chicago.

JAMES SLEDD.

BRIEF MENTION

MOBY-DICK OR THE WHALE. Edited by Willard Thorp. New York: Oxford University Press. 1947. xxxi, 532 pp. Photographs. \$2.25.

Professor Thorp's long awaited edition of *Moby-Dick* is a pleasure to the eye and the hand as well as to the college student of Melville's work. The notes are clear, accurate, and informative. Anyone familiar with Professor Thorp's authoritative knowledge of Melville recognizes the restraint he exercised in omitting footnotes which would have filled his book to overflowing. "I have tried," he explains, "to steer a course between the extensive annotation which Melville's fondness for obscure learning invites an editor to indulge in, and a reticence which would leave the reader without the assistance he requires." Where Thorp has held himself to two hundred notes (a rough estimate), he might have had a thousand; where he might have extended a footnote to a page, he has disciplined himself to a succinct paragraph.

Appropriately, Thorp has adopted the first American edition as the basis of his text because it had, as he points out, the authority of Melville's own supervision. Use might well have been made of some of the interesting variants in the first English edition, especially the attractive footnote on the verb "to gallow" in "Schools and Schoolmasters," although this might have complicated the book for the beginning reader. Thorp was not asked for a variorum text. On the whole it is the most satisfactory and satisfying text of *Moby-Dick* since 1851.

Illinois Institute of Technology.

HOWARD P. VINCENT.

THE PORTABLE HAWTHORNE. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Malcolm Cowley. New York: The Viking Press. 1948. vi, 634 pp. \$2.00.

This volume samples Hawthorne's writings in a way to surprise many readers with their variety in both matter and method, and yet to give an impression of completeness throughout that is not usual in such collections. *The Scarlet Letter* is here entire, followed by chapters from three of the other novels which hint at the distinctive nature of each. Among the tales is one of Hawthorne's adaptations of Greek myths for children; and two of his prefaces are added. Full selections from the notebooks have been chosen to show the author's "inner monologue," to use the editor's phrase, on a diversity of subjects over a period of twenty-five

years. The volume concludes with a dozen letters and a short bibliography.

The editor takes the role of guide to his reader, in the general introduction, the prefatory notes to the sections, and the interlocutory sequence in which the letters are embedded. Besides placing the selections in relation to the author's life, he makes some discerning comment on Hawthorne's thought and his art, on his symbols, for example, and his conception of the novel.

Louisiana State University.

ARLIN TURNER.

AMERICA THROUGH BRITISH EYES. Compiled and edited by Allan Nevins. New York: Oxford University Press. 1948. xi, 530 pp. \$6.00.

This is an anthology of selections from British commentators on America and represents a revision of *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers* (1923) plus a new section covering the period 1922 to 1946. An annotated bibliography of the chief British travel books relating to the United States appears on pages 503-519.

C. G.

THE OTHER HOUSE. By Henry James. With an Introduction by Léon Edel. [New York]: New Directions. [1948.] xxi, 228 pp. \$3.50.

Unlike most of the recent reprints of James, this one has an introduction by a competent student. Mr. Edel argues the influence of Ibsen on the tale, which, it should be remembered, was first written as a play and later reconverted into a drama.

C. G.

STATE OF MIND: *A Boston Reader*. Edited by Robert N. Linscott. New York: Farrar, Straus and Company. [1948.] xii, 428 pp. \$4.50.

First volume in a "City & Country Readers Series," this is an anthology of writings, fictional and otherwise, dealing with Boston. To come in the future are "readers" on New York, New Orleans, San Francisco, the Blue Grass, Ohio, and Maine. A notable addition to regional anthology-making.

C. G.

A LITTLE TREASURY OF AMERICAN POETRY: *The Chief Poets from Colonial Times to the Present Day*. Edited with an Introduction by Oscar Williams. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1948. xxxvi, 876 pp. \$3.75.

The selection is weighted with contemporaries, the introduction is

without significance, and the photographs of the poets are excellent. The volume opens with a number of examples of American Indian poetry. Bryant is represented on four pages; Delmore Schwartz on eleven.

C. G.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MODERN PROSODY. By Karl Shapiro. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1948. 36 pp. \$1.75.

English and American articles and books are listed with brief comments on their contents. A few studies dating from the nineteenth century are included. The work is the result of Mr. Shapiro's tenure of his post as Consultant in Poetry in the Library of Congress for 1946-1947.

C. G.

THE COMPLETE POETRY AND PROSE OF WALT WHITMAN AS PREPARED BY HIM FOR THE DEATHBED EDITION. With an Introduction by Malcolm Cowley. New York: Pellegrini & Cudahy. [1948.] 2 Vols. 482, 538 pp. \$8.50.

A reprint of the 1891-1892 edition of *Leaves of Grass* and of the 1892 *Complete Prose Works*. Mr. Cowley supplies an introduction notable for its frank argument that Whitman was a homosexual.

C. G.

STEPHEN CRANE: *A Bibliography*. By Ames W. Williams and Vincent Starrett. Glendale, Calif.: John Valentine. 1948. viii, 161 pp. \$7.50.

This long-promised bibliography is much more than a description of the editions of Crane's works; it is also an index of sources for the use of future biographers. Some new information concerning the author's life is incidentally woven in or more forthrightly presented in Mr. Starrett's Introduction. The book is an essential tool for all serious students of Crane.

C. G.

SOVIET INTERPRETATION OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN LITERATURE. By M. Mendelson. Translated by Deming B. Brown and Rufus W. Mathewson. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. [1948.] 26 pp. \$0.50.

A mimeographed translation of a lecture on American publishing and books of the 1940's, delivered in Moscow in 1947 by a professor of American literature. It is a wholehearted application of Soviet attitudes, at times unconsciously humorous in its egregious lopsidedness. Upton Sinclair and Dreiser are praised for their progressiveness, while the larger body of works examined in the discourse is used to illustrate "the ascend-

ancy of decadence." The pamphlet is issued in co-operation with the Russian translation program of the American Council of Learned Societies.

C. G.

THE LEGEND OF THE MASTER. Compiled by Simon Nowell-Smith. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1948. xlvii, 176 pp. \$3.00.

An expertly arranged and judiciously conceived anthology of descriptions of, and anecdotes about, Henry James, which throws much light upon that author's personality. A chronological table of his life and writings and a bibliography add further to the value of the book.

C. G.

WASHINGTON ALLSTON: *A Study of the Romantic Artist in America*. By Edgar Preston Richardson. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. [1948.] x, 234 pp. \$10.00.

AMERICAN LANDSCAPE PAINTING: *An Interpretation*. By Wolfgang Born. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1948. xiv, 228 pp. \$7.50.

A reading of these two books confirms the impression that historians of American painting know their American literature as few of our literary historians know the history of the other arts in America. New courses in the History of American Civilization may be expected to improve this unhappy state of affairs, but in too many of our college curricula English majors graduate with no knowledge of the interrelations of their special subject with any of the fine arts. And yet it seems obvious that students reading Bryant, Irving, and Cooper ought to know something about Irving's artist friends Leslie and Allston and about Bryant's relations with Cole and Durand. Professor Born, now teaching at Louisiana State University, is fully aware of the importance to his study of the literary background. The connection between literature and painting is stressed in his chapter on "Sentiment of Nature," and in his discussion of Romanticism he draws his illustrations from writers as well as from painters. In the early nineteenth century, in America as in Europe, painters, sculptors, and musicians often derived both their inspiration and their subject matter from the poets and novelists. Born's book is an interpretation rather than a detailed history, but in his six chapters he packs a substantial amount of factual material. His 143 well-chosen illustrations add greatly to the value of the book.

In his *Washington Allston* Edgar P. Richardson, Director of the Detroit Institute of Arts, makes a good case for assigning to Allston a larger place in the history of painting than is generally conceded to him.

As he points out, twentieth-century art critics have had little sympathy with "literary painting" or with painters like Allston who worked toward "an ideal and monumental art." They have not appreciated his skilful use of light and color or sympathized with his sense of the mysterious and the tragic. Allston was of course a poet as well as a painter. He was fascinated by the Gothic novels, *The Faerie Queene*, and the poems of the early Romanticists. In Italy he became an intimate friend of Coleridge, and he came later to know Wordsworth and Southey. These writers influenced his conception of the function of art as well as his poems, of which they thought more highly than latterday critics. Richardson's study is not primarily biographical, but he corrects errors of fact and judgment in the only published biography, that of Jared B. Flagg published in 1892. Richardson points out that after his final return to America in 1818, contrary to the usual account, Allston wrote approximately half his poems and painted a considerable number of his better pictures. We have remembered only the ambitious "Belshazzar's Feast," on which Allston worked intermittently for years, only to leave it unfinished when he died. It was Henry James, Richardson thinks, who created the impression that the artist found it impossible to paint when he returned to his native country. Richardson has taken the trouble to locate Allston's scattered paintings and to compile a descriptive list of them. The volume is beautifully illustrated with no less than seventy plates.

Richardson includes brief but enlightening discussions of Allston's poems (pp. 94-96) and lectures on art (pp. 158-172), which are better than anything to be found in our literary histories. In fact, the latest and best of these mentions Allston only in the bibliographies. Allston was not a great poet, but he was an amateur of talent; and he was probably the first American poet who deserves to be called an artist. *The Sylphs of the Seasons*, published in London and Boston in 1813, had its chief value, according to Richardson, in "its quickening effects upon the nascent literary consciousness of the New England group." For Lowell, Margaret Fuller, and other writers, the Southern-born Allston was the pre-eminent American example of the artist and the gentleman. It is high time that some scholar undertook a study of Allston's writings and of the important Coleridge-Allston relationship.

A PRINCE IN THEIR MIDST: *The Adventurous Life of Achille Murat on the American Frontier*. By A. J. Hanna. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1946. xii, 275 pp. \$3.00.

The name of Achille Murat is a familiar one to admirers of Emerson, who characterized him as "a philosopher, a scholar, a man of the world

... an ardent lover of the truth." There are earlier brief studies of Murat, but it remained for Professor Hanna of Rollins College in this excellent biography to give us a full-length portrait of the man. He has studied materials in American and European libraries and has seen records, some of which were probably destroyed in the Second World War. He has not been able to add very much to what was known of Emerson's relations with Murat, but his biography makes it easier to estimate the influence of Murat upon Emerson. Murat, a nephew of Napoleon, came to the United States after Waterloo, became an American citizen, married a great-grandniece of George Washington, studied and practiced law, served in the Florida militia, and tried to make his fortune by growing cotton. Had he lived a little longer, he might well have played a conspicuous part in French political life after his cousin Louis Napoleon became President of the French Republic.

Apart from the impetus he gave to Emerson's thinking, Murat's best claim to remembrance is his *Esquisse moral et politique des États-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord*, published in Paris in 1832 and republished in New York in 1849 in an English version entitled *America and the Americans*. The book was little read in France because the anti-Bonapartists controlled the press, which played up Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. Murat was more the observer and less the analyst than Tocqueville, but his book has considerable value as a picture of life in the South, of which Tocqueville saw comparatively little.¹

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHERN SECTIONALISM, 1819-1848. By Charles S. Sydnor. Louisiana State University Press [and] The Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas. 1948. xvi, 400 pp. \$6.00.

This book is the second volume to be published of the ten-volume *History of the South* under the general editorship of Wendell H. Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. It maintains the high standard set by Professor Coulter's *The South during Reconstruction*, which appeared a few months ago. It is, in my opinion, the best historical study of the antebellum South in print.² Professor Sydnor's discussion of literature and the fine arts is much better than that in Professor Coulter's book. It is not marred by the errors and the failure to understand literary values which are too common in the writings of historians when they discuss literature and the arts. In the years 1819-1848 Revolutionary liberalism

¹ This review was written to replace one which was lost after it left the reviewer's hands. J. B. H.

² Since this review was written Professor Sydnor's book has been awarded the Mayflower Prize for the best book by a North Carolinian published in the year 1948.

was slowly waning, and the Southern states were becoming a political unit such as they had not been before. It is not an easy period to understand, and no single formula explains it. So far as the white population was concerned, political life was becoming more and more democratic. The state constitutions were being revised; the right to vote was being extended to many who in the eighteenth century would have been denied the ballot; and yet the Southern states were gradually becoming united in their opposition to the antislavery movement. Professor Sydnor's treatment of local government in the South is an enlightening discussion of a subject not hitherto adequately treated. The "Critical Essay on Authorities" is of considerable value to students of American literature who wish a dependable guide through the large mass of available materials.

GEORGE WASHINGTON: *A Biography*. By Douglas Southall Freeman. Vol. I. *Young Washington*. xxviii, 549 pp. Vol. II. *Young Washington*. x, 464 pp. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1948. \$15.00.

After publishing *R. E. Lee* and *Lee's Lieutenants*, Mr. Freeman planned to write the history of the Army of the Potomac—a subject which he now thinks should properly be undertaken by a Northern historian, who could with a better grace point out certain shortcomings in the management of that army. It was Raymond Fosdick of the Rockefeller Foundation and Jackson Davis of the General Education Board who insisted that Freeman should supply the much-needed detailed life of Washington. The Carnegie Corporation provided the needed funds and engaged competent research assistants for the vast undertaking. Mr. Freeman is perhaps less at home in eighteenth-century Virginia than in the period of the Civil War, which he has been studying all his life, but the two published volumes, which carry the biography beyond the Braddock campaign, promise something like a definitive biography. Freeman finds Washington "a more interesting young man to study because he was so much more complex in character than Lee." The picture which he paints gives us a much more human Washington than that to be found in any earlier biographies. For the first time Washington is fully portrayed against the Virginia background in which he lived. There are excellent accounts of Virginia life in the seventeenth century, but apart from Hunter D. Farish's edition of Fithian's *Journal* there are few good accounts of Virginia life in the eighteenth century. In his first volume, chapters I and IV, Freeman has gone far toward supplying an accurate and detailed picture of a background which has been largely colored by legend and tradition.

BASIC WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Saxe Commins. New York: Random House. [1948.] xviii, 697 pp. \$3.75.

There are excellent editions of Washington's writings, particularly the Bicentennial *Writings of George Washington* in thirty-nine volumes edited by John C. Fitzpatrick; but this is the first good one-volume collection. The 242 items which are here reprinted are well chosen and well edited. Except in the Farewell Address, in which he availed himself of the able pen of Alexander Hamilton, Washington was not a skilful writer. There are, however, notable passages in his letters, particularly those written during the Revolution.

GREAT NOVELISTS AND THEIR NOVELS: *Essays on the Ten Greatest Novels of the World, and the Men and Women Who Wrote Them*. By W. Somerset Maugham. Illustrated with Pen and Ink Portraits of the Authors by Robert W. Arnold. Philadelphia [and] Toronto: The John C. Winston Company. [1948.] viii, 245 pp. \$3.00.

These essays were first published in somewhat abridged form in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The volume includes an essay on Melville and *Moby-Dick* which, though it reveals no familiarity with recent contributions to Melville scholarship, is valuable because of Mr. Maugham's expert knowledge of the craft of fiction. He does, however, print an important new letter about Jane Austen.

DIALOGUES IN LIMBO. By George Santayana. With Three New Dialogues. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [1948.] 248 pp. \$3.00.

"Not all the Dialogues that I had planned and begun to write were finished when the original edition of this book was published [in 1926]; but, now that another edition has become possible, I have added three more, in which the faithful friendship and the contrary insights of Socrates and Alcibiades are more fully exhibited. The gist of the whole is to confirm the scientific psychology that I have put into the mouth of Democritus at the beginning. Subjectivity is a normal madness in living animals. It should be discounted, not idolised, in the philosophy of the West, as it has always been discounted in that of the East" (Preface).

THE UNHURRIED YEARS: *Memories of the Old Natchez Region*. By Pierce Butler. [Baton Rouge]: Louisiana State University Press. [1948.] xvi, 198 pp. \$3.00.

The Dean Emeritus of Newcomb College, who is the present owner of "Laurel Hill," has written a charming and illuminating history of a

plantation house which has been in the possession of members of the same family for nearly two centuries.

POEMS FIRST AND SECOND SERIES. By Emily Dickinson. Edited by Two of Her Friends Mabel Loomis Todd and T. W. Higginson. Illustrations by Leon Jacobson. Introduction by Carl Van Doren. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company. [1948.] 256 pp. \$1.25.

Emily Dickinson's memorable first two volumes, published in 1890 and 1891, are now out of copyright; and the World Publishing Company has done well to make available the 281 poems in the order in which they were originally published.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE. Compiled by James Thorpe. With an Introduction by Hyder Edward Rollins. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1948. xiv, 125 pp. \$2.50.

This admirable bibliography of the writings of one of America's greatest scholars supersedes that which appeared in the Kittredge *Anniversary Papers* in 1913; and it shows that Professor Kittredge's interest in American literature, history, and folklore was greater than has been generally supposed.

ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF IDEAS. By Arthur O. Lovejoy. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1948. xviii, 359 pp. \$5.00.

This volume is sponsored by the History of Ideas Club of Johns Hopkins University. Professor Lovejoy, who founded the Club in 1922, is, as Don Cameron Allen states in the Foreword, "not only the father of the club but also the chief inspirer of the modern study of the history of ideas." Most of the sixteen essays are not new, but Professor Lovejoy has revised them for this volume. A bibliography of his writings is included.

THE PORTABLE VEBLEN. Edited, and with an Introduction, by Max Lerner. New York: The Viking Press. 1948. viii, 632 pp. \$2.00. The selections are well chosen, and the Introduction is excellent.

AMERICAN SEA SONGS AND CHANTEYS: *From the Days of Iron Men and Wooden Ships*. [Edited] by Frank Shay. Illustrated by Edward A. Wilson. Musical Arrangements by Christopher Thomas. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. [1948.] 217 pp. \$5.00.

An attractive edition of an anthology which first appeared in 1924 under the title *Iron Men and Wooden Ships*.

J. B. H.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Richard E. Amacher (Rutgers University), Ashbel Brice (Duke University), Herbert Brown (Bowdoin College), James R. Dolson (Alabama Polytechnic Institute), Horst Frenz (Indiana University), John C. Gerber (University of Iowa), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest Marchand (San Diego State College), Thomas F. Marshall (Western Maryland College), Roy Harvey Pearce (University of California), Henry F. Pommer (Cornell University), Thelma V. Smith (Dickinson College), Herman E. Spivey (University of Kentucky), and Frederick Tolles (Swarthmore College), with the co-operation of Lars Åhnebrink (University of Upsala), Roger M. Asselineau (University of Paris), Anna Maria Crinò (University of Florence), and Sigmund Skard (University of Oslo).

Items for the check list to be published in the March, 1949, issue of *American Literature* should be sent to the chairman of the committee, Lewis Leary, 4633 Duke Station, Durham, N. C.

I. 1609-1800

[BRADFORD, JOHN] Clift, G. Glenn. "John Bradford: 'The Caxton of Kentucky': A Bibliography." *AN&Q*, VIII, 35-41 (June, 1948).

Writings concerning the activities of the first printer in Kentucky.

[CRÈVECŒUR, H. St. J.] Adams, Percy S. "Notes on Crèvecoeur." *AL*, XX, 327-333 (Nov., 1948).

In *Le Voyage dans la haute Pensylvanie et dans l'état de New York*, Crèvecoeur borrowed from Bartram's *Travels* and William Smith's *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition*.

[EDWARDS, JONATHAN] Miller, Perry. "Jonathan Edwards on the Sense of the Heart." *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, XLI, 123-145 (April, 1948).

A seven-page introduction and exposition (by Miller) of Edwards's notes accumulated over many years for what he intended to call "A Rational Account of the Main Doctrines of the Christian Religion Attempted," a fragment of which is here printed, "Ideas, Sense of the Heart, Spiritual Knowledge or Conviction, Faith," probably written about 1745.

Squires, J. Radcliffe. "Jonathan Edwards." *Accent*, IX, 31-32 (Autumn, 1948).

An interpretation in verse.

[JEFFERSON, THOMAS] Marsh, Philip. "Jefferson and Journalism." *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, IX, 209-212 (Feb., 1948).

Jefferson did not found, finance, direct, or write for any partisan publication; he did not urge friends to wrangle in print "either habitually or indiscriminately."

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Chinard, Gilbert. "Dr. Franklin Negotiates, December, 1777." *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCII, 101-104 (May 5, 1948).

A fragmentary draft of a letter by Franklin to Vergennes, written between receipt of news of the victory at Saratoga and the concluding of the French alliance, reveals "the probity of expression" which marks the state papers of the first great American diplomat. Lingelbach, William E. "B. Franklin, Printer—New Source Materials." *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCII, 79-100 (May 5, 1948).

Newly discovered materials at the American Philosophical Society supply detailed information on Franklin's activities as printer and publisher in Philadelphia, London, and Passy.

McKillop, Alan D. "Some Newtonian Verses in Poor Richard." *NEQ*, XXI, 383-385 (Sept., 1948).

Verses prefixed to *Poor Richard Improved* (1748) are adapted from John Hughes's Newtonian poem, *The Ecstasy* (1720).

Roelker, William Greene. "The Franklin-Greene Correspondence." *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCII, 186-193 (July 19, 1948).

About a hundred letters (many unpublished) of the triangular correspondence of Franklin, his sister Mrs. Jane Mecom, and Catharine Ray Greene have been discovered: this correspondence portrays "the kindly, mellow, domestic side of Franklin" as no other group of his letters does.

[OGLETHORPE, J. E.] Kirk, Rudolph. "A Latin Poem by James Edward Oglethorpe." *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XXXII, 29-31 (March, 1948).

A poem and a translation written on the death of Queen Anne and the accession of King George I.

[TAYLOR, EDWARD] Giovannini, G. "Taylor's *The Glory of and Grace in the Church Set Out*." *Expl.*, VI, 26 (Feb., 1948).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Harding, F. A. J. "The Social Impact of the Evangelical Revival: A Brief Account of the Social Teachings of John Wesley and His Followers." *Hist. Mag. Prot. Episc. Church*, XV, 256-284 (Dec., 1946).

- Hudson, Arthur Palmer. "Songs of the North Carolina Regulators." *Wm. and Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., IV, 470-485 (Oct., 1947).
Levitan, Tina. "Hebraic Mortar." *Am. Hebrew*, CLVII, 2, 15 (Feb. 27, 1948).

The influence of the Bible as a source book for democratic procedure in colonial America.

- Morgan, Edmund S. "The Puritan's Marriage with God." *So. Atl. Quar.*, XLVIII, 107-112 (Jan., 1948).
Weiss, Harry B. "A Graphic Summary of the Growth of Newspapers in New York and Other States, 1704-1820." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LII, 182-196 (April, 1948).

II. 1800-1870

- [AUDUBON, J. J.] Delamain, Jacques. "Un Grand Américain, Audubon." *Formes et Couleurs* (Paris), No. 6 (1947), n. p.
[BRYANT, W. C.] Bryant, W. C., II. "The Genesis of 'Thanatopsis.'" *NEQ*, XXI, 163-184 (June, 1948).

The accepted date of the summer or fall of 1811 for the composition of "Thanatopsis" places that poem at the beginning instead of the end of a series of inferior poems in which the genesis of the greater work can be traced: "Thanatopsis" was probably written "as late as the fall of 1815."

- Long, H. P. "The Alden Lineage of William Cullen Bryant." *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, CII, 82-86 (April, 1948).
[EMERSON, R. W.] Adkins, Nelson F. "Emerson and the Bardic Tradition." *PMLA*, LXIII, 662-677 (June, 1948).
Emerson found vigor, abandon, defiance of logic, and essential truth in the concept of the ancient bard.
Cohen, B. Bernard. "'Threnody': Emerson's Struggle with Grief." *Indiana Univ. Folio*, XIV, 13-15 (Oct., 1948).
Cosman, Max. "Emerson's English Traits and the English." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 7-9 (Summer-Fall, 1948).
Kuhn, Helmut. "Carlyle, Ally and Critic of Emerson." *Emory Univ. Quar.*, IV, 171-180 (Oct., 1948).
[GRAYSON, W. J.] Stoney, Samuel Gaillard (ed.). "The Autobiography of William John Grayson." *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XLVIII, 125-133, 189-197 (July, Oct., 1947); XLIX, 23-40, 88-103, 163-170 (Jan., April, July, 1948).

Grayson, biographer of James Louis Petigru, was a nineteenth-century Charleston lawyer and poet. To be continued.

- [HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Cohen, B. Bernard. "The Composition of Hawthorne's 'The Duston Family.'" *NEQ*, XXI, 236-241 (June, 1948).

In addition to Mather's *Magnalia*, Hawthorne used Goodrich's *Peter Parley's Method of Telling about the History of the World to Children* and Mirick's *The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts*.

———. "Hawthorne and Legends." *Hoosier Folklore*, VII, 94-95 (Sept., 1948).

Cowley, Malcolm. "Hawthorne in Solitude." *New Rep.*, CXIX, 19-23 (Aug. 2, 1948).

His separation from other artists allowed him to develop naturally. Fogle, Richard H. "An Ambiguity of Sin or Sorrow." *NEQ*, XXI, 342-349 (Sept., 1948).

Hawthorne's characteristic fusion of simplicity on the surface with layers of complexity beneath is fully evident in "The Minister's Black Veil."

Tykessen, Elisabeth. "Från bokhyllan." *Bonniers Litterära Magasin* (Stockholm), XV, 497-499 (July-Aug., 1947).

[HAYNE, P. H.] McKeithan, Daniel Morley. "Paul Hamilton Hayne Writes to the Granddaughter of Patrick Henry." *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XXXII, 22-28 (March, 1948).

[HOLMES, O. W.] Kent, Roland G. "An Unpublished Letter of Oliver Wendell Holmes." *AL*, XX, 333-336 (Nov., 1948).

Addressed to Lindley C. Kent, Wilmington, Delaware, dated February 19, 1875, it lists Holmes's preferences among his own poems.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Price, George R. "Washington Irving's Librettos." *Music & Letters* (London), XXIV, 348-355 (Oct., 1948).

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Amacher, Richard E. "Longfellow's *Jugurtha*." *Expl.*, VI, 29 (Feb., 1948).

Gilbert, Creighton. "On Longfellow's Translation of a Michael Angelo Sonnet." *PQ*, XXVII, 57-62 (Jan., 1948).

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Chase, Richard. "Dissent on Billy Budd." *Partisan Rev.*, XV, 1212-1218 (Nov., 1948).

"*Billy Budd* is said to be Melville's definitive moral statement. But it is my impression that Melville made his definitive statement in *Moby Dick*, *The Confidence Man*, and *Clarel*, and that the moral situation in *Billy Budd* is deeply equivocal [p. 1212]. . . . Billy Budd is pre-eminently the beatified boy of the liberal-progressive myth, the figure who gets 'pushed around,' the figure 'to whom things happen.' His suffering and death are without moral content" (p. 1218).

Connor, C. H. "Moby Dick." *CEA Critic*, X, 3 (Oct., 1948).

A simple explanation, suitable for class use.

Duffield, Brainerd. "Moby Dick: A Modern Adaptation." *Line*, I, 32-40 (April-May, 1948).

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- Eliot, Alexander. "Melville and Bartleby." *Furioso*, III, 11-21 (Fall, 1947).
- Heflin, Wilson L. "The Source of Ahab's Lordship over the Level Loadstone." *AL*, XX, 323-327 (Nov., 1948).
- "Melville was indebted . . . to Scoresby's *Journal of a Voyage* for the idea of having the lightning of the typhoon reverse the polarity of the *Pequod's* compasses and for the dramatic solution of Ahab's navigational difficulties."
- Hillway, Tyrus. "Melville and the Spirit of Science." *So. Atl. Quar.*, XLVIII, 77-88 (Jan., 1949).
- . "Some Recent Articles Relating to Melville (January 1947 to September 1948)." *Melville Soc. News Letter*, IV, Suppl. (Nov. 1, 1948).
- . "The Unknowns in Whale-Lore." *AN&Q*, VIII, 68-69 (Aug., 1948).
- A Melville scholar on beached whales.
- Hull, William. "Moby Dick: An Interpretation." *Etc.*, V, 8-21 (Autumn, 1947).
- Jones, Joseph. "Melville: A 'Humorist' in 1890." *AN&Q*, VIII, 68 (Aug., 1948).
- Melville is listed among humorists of minor rank in an article by Henry Clay Lukens, "American Literary Comedians," *Harper's*, April, 1890.
- Leyda, Jay. "White Elephant vs. White Whale." *Town & Country*, CI, 68 ff. (Aug., 1947).
- Lundkvist, Artur. "Herman Melville." *Bonniers Litterära Magasin* (Stockholm), XI, 773-786 (Dec., 1942).
- Maugham, W. Somerset. "Moby Dick." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXXI, 98-104 (June, 1948).
- Oliver, Egbert S. "'Cock-A-Doodle-Do!' and Transcendental Hocus-Pocus." *NEQ*, XXI, 204-216 (June, 1948).
- Melville's story is a satire on buoyant transcendental principles, especially those emanating from Concord, and more particularly a passage from Thoreau's *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*.
- Pommer, Henry F. "Herman Melville and the Wake of the *Essex*." *AL*, XX, 290-304 (Nov., 1948).
- A tracing of Melville's use of the shipwreck of the *Essex*, from *Mardi* to *Clarel*.
- Potter, David. "The Brodhead Diaries, 1846-1849." *Jour. Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, XI, 21-27 (Dec., 1947).

Sealts, Merton M., Jr. "Melville's Reading: A Check-List of Books Owned and Borrowed." *Harvard Lib. Bul.*, II, 141-163, 378-392 (Spring, Autumn, 1948).

Parts I and II, both introductory, appeared in the first installment; Part III, the check list proper, begins in the second installment and carries the listing through the B's; to be continued.

Victor, Alexander O. "Five Inches of Books." *Yale Univ. Lib. Gaz.*, XXII, 127-128 (April, 1948).

Weeks, Mabel. "Long Ago and 'Faraway': Traces of Melville in the Marquesas in the Journals of A. G. Jones, 1854-1855." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LII, 362-369 (July, 1948).

Williams, Mentor L. "Horace Greeley Reviews *Omoo*." *PQ*, XXVII, 94-96 (Jan., 1948).

In the *New York Tribune*, June 8, 1847.

[POE, E. A.] Bailey, J. O. "The Geography of Poe's 'Dreamland' and 'Ulalume.'" *SP*, XLV, 512-523 (July, 1948).

The geography of these two poems further reflects Poe's almost obsessive concern with the Symzonian conception of a hollow earth.

Mabbott, T. O. "Unrecorded Texts of Two Poe Poems." *AN&Q*, VIII, 67-68 (Aug., 1948).

A version of "To One in Paradise" in the *Saturday Evening Post*, January 9, 1841, and of "Lenore" in the *New York Evening Mirror*, November 28, 1844.

McElderry, B. R., Jr. "The Edgar Allan Poe Collection." *Univ. So. Calif. Lib. Bul.*, No. 4 (Jan., 1948), pp. [4-6].

An account of Poe material at the University of Southern California.

Worthen, Samuel Copp. "Poe and the Beautiful Cigar Girl." *AL*, XX, 305-312 (Nov., 1948).

"The Mystery of Marie Roget," ingenious as it is, failed to solve the mystery of Mary Rogers.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Hausman, Leon A. "Thoreau on Monadnock." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, No. 25 (Oct., 1948), pp. 2-3.

A condensation of a paper read at the Thoreau Society annual meeting in Concord on July 10, 1948.

Harding, Walter. "Additions to the Thoreau Bibliography." *Thoreau Soc. Bul.*, No. 25 (Oct., 1948), p. 4.

Wyllie, Evan M. "Thoreau Trails." *Holiday*, IV, 105-114 (Sept., 1948).

An illustrated account (with color photographs) of Thoreau's visit to the Maine woods.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Schaedler, Louis C. "Whittier's Attitude toward Colonial Puritanism." *NEQ*, XXI, 350-367 (Sept., 1948).

Whittier's antipathy to slavery led him to express the extremes of antipathy and admiration for the Puritans, but his impartial attitude prevails.

[WILLIS, N. P.] Shulman, David. "N. P. Willis and the American Language." *Am. Speech*, XXIII, 39-47 (Feb., 1948).

A list of forty Americanisms earlier than the earliest recordings in the *DAE*, and a discussion of Willis's self-conscious employment of unusual diction.

Wegelin, Christof. "Social Criticism in the Fiction of N. P. Willis." *AL*, XX, 313-322 (Nov., 1948).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Kendall, John Smith. "New Orleans' Negro Minstrels." *La. Hist. Quar.*, XXX, 128-148 (Jan., 1947).

Martin, Sidney Walter. "Ebenezer Kellogg's Visit to Charleston, 1817." *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XLIX, 1-14 (Jan., 1948).

A diary account by a teacher from Williams College in Massachusetts: one passage describes the Charleston Library.

Moffatt, Lucius Gaston, and Carrière, Joseph Médard. "A Frenchman Visits Charleston, 1817." *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XLIX, 131-154 (July, 1948).

The Baron de Montlezun, interested in social life and manners, comments on architecture, language, music, the theater, the library, gardening, drinking, dueling, and farming.

Smith, G. W. "Broadides for Freedom: Civil War Propaganda in New England." *NEQ*, XXI, 291-312 (Sept., 1948).

The direction of public opinion during the Civil War became a function of nongovernmental agencies such as the New England Loyal Publication Society.

Tryon, W. S. "Ticknor and Fields' Publications in the Old Northwest, 1840-1860." *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV, 589-610 (March, 1948).

Williams, Jack. "Georgians as Seen by Ante-Bellum English Travelers." *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XXXII, 158-174 (Sept., 1948).

Based on accounts of seventeen travelers.

Winkler, E. W. "Check List of Texas Imprints, 1862." *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, LII, 209-226 (Oct., 1948).

Conclusion of a series.

III. 1870-1900

[ADAMS, HENRY] Glicksberg, Charles I. "Henry Adams the Journalist." *NEQ*, XXI, 232-236 (June, 1946).

A hitherto unidentified article by Adams in the New York *Evening Post* illustrates that he could be an effective muckraker when he decided to speak out.

Lydenberg, John. "Henry Adams and Lincoln Steffens." *So. Atl. Quar.*, XLVIII, 42-64 (Jan., 1949).

A study of the relation of Adams and Steffens to the naturalists helps us to see the naturalist tradition in better perspective; naturalism was "an expression of the moral bewilderment of people facing a world for which they were not prepared."

[ALCOTT, L. M.] Ahlgren, Stig. "Agnes von Krusenstjerna och Louisa M. Alcott." *Bonniers Litterära Magasin* (Stockholm), IX, 270-274 (April, 1940).

[BROWN, LEONARD] Wright, Luella M. "Leonard Brown, Poet and Populist." *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.*, XLVI, 227-265 (July, 1948).

[CABLE, G. W.] Butcher, Philip. "George W. Cable and Booker T. Washington." *Jour. Negro Ed.*, XVII, 462-468 (Fall, 1948).

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Anon. "Unpublished Twain Letters." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 13 (Summer-Fall, 1948).

To someone named Frank, dated March 26, 1897.

Clemens, Cyril. "Mark Twain's Story on the Siamese Twins." *Hobbies*, LIII, 139 (Oct., 1948).

Coleman, Rufus A. "Trowbridge and Clemens." *MLQ*, IX, 216-223 (June, 1948).

Duffy, Charles. "Mark Twain Writes to Howells." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 4 (Summer-Fall, 1948).

A previously unprinted letter of February 27, 1874.

Flowers, Frank C. "Mark Twain's Theories of Morality." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 10-11 (Summer-Fall, 1948).

Holloway, T. E. "Mark Twain's Turning Point." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 1-3 (Summer-Fall, 1948).

The influence of the Joan of Arc legend on Clemens's life.

Russell, Lillis L. "Americanism as Typified by Mark Twain." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 14-15 (Summer-Fall, 1948).

Squires, J. Radcliffe. "Mark Twain." *Accent*, IX, 32-33 (Autumn, 1948).
An interpretation in verse.

Wecter, Dixon. "Mark Twain's River." *Atl. Mo.*, CLXXXII, 45-47 (Oct., 1948).

A trip by towboat down the Mississippi in August, 1947.

Wilson, Robert H. "Malory in the Connecticut Yankee." *Univ. Texas Stud. in Eng.*, XXVII, 185-205 (June, 1948).

Workman, Mims Thornburgh. "The Whitman-Twain Enigma." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 12-13 (Summer-Fall, 1948).

Why does Whitman never praise or mention Clemens?

[CRANE, STEPHEN] Elconin, Victor A. "Stephen Crane at Asbury Park." *AL*, XX, 275-289 (Nov., 1948).

Crane's dispatches to the New York *Tribune* from Asbury Park, N. J., including a reprinting of the story frequently, and erroneously, said to have been the cause of his dismissal from that newspaper.
[DICKINSON, EMILY] Lindqvist, Ebba. "Emily Dickinson efter många år." *Ord och Bild* (Stockholm), LV, 581-585 (1946).

Scott, Wilbur. "Dickinson's *I'll Tell You How the Sun Rose*." *Expl.*, VII, 14 (Nov., 1948).

[HARRIS, J. C.] Gayle, Margot. "Georgia's Aesop." *Holland's Mag.*, LXVII, 8-9 (Dec., 1948).

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Arms, George. "Howells' New York Novel." *NEQ.*, XXI, 313-325 (Sept., 1948).

The distinction of *A Hazard of New Fortunes* is that it deals with economic and sociological problems in a fashion unprecedented in the comedy of manners.

Duffy, Charles. "Mark Twain Writes to Howells." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 4 (Summer-Fall, 1948).

See CLEMENS above.

Reardon, Mark S. R., III. "My Visit to William Dean Howells." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 5, 11 (Summer-Fall, 1948).

An account of a visit in 1914.

[JAMES, HENRY] Beach, Joseph Warren. "The Sacred and Solitary Refuge." *Furioso*, III, 23-27 (Winter, 1947).

A review-article on *The Notebooks of Henry James*.

[LANIER, SIDNEY] Guest, Boyd. "Sidney Lanier's Feminine Ideal." *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XXXII, 175-178 (Sept., 1948).

Lanier's ideal woman possessed "strength of character, intelligence, and above all a great capacity for love."

[LOCKE, D. R.] Ransome, Jack Clifford. "David Ross Locke: Civil War Propagandist." *Northwest Ohio Quar.*, XX, 5-19 (Jan., 1948).

———. "David Ross Locke: The Post-war Years." *Northwest Ohio Quar.*, XX, 144-158 (Summer, 1948).

[TABB, J. B.] Clemens, Cyril. "John Banister Tabb." *Servite*, XXXIX, 43-47 (Aug., 1947).

The influence of Father Tabb on his contemporaries.

[TROWBRIDGE, J. T.] Coleman, Rufus A. "Trowbridge and Clemens." *MLQ*, IX, 216-223 (June, 1948).

———. "Trowbridge and Whitman." *PMLA*, LXIII, 262-273 (March, 1948).

[WHITMAN, WALT] Asselineau, Roger. "A propos Walt Whitman." *Les Langues Modernes* (Paris), XLII, 446-449 (Aug.-Sept.-Oct., 1948).

A survey of recent French studies of Whitman.

Bergman, Herbert. "Walt Whitman on New Jersey: An Uncollected Essay." *Proc. N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LXVI, 139-154 (Oct., 1948).

From the *Philadelphia Times*, January 26, 1879.

———. "Whitman in June, 1885: Three Uncollected Interviews." *AN&Q*, VIII, 51-56 (July, 1948).

———. "Whitman on Politics, Presidents, and Hopefuls." *AN&Q*, VIII, 19-26 (May, 1948).

Coleman, Rufus A. "Trowbridge and Whitman." *PMLA*, LXIII, 262-273 (March, 1948).

Workman, Mims Thornburgh. "The Whitman-Twain Enigma." *Mark Twain Quar.*, VIII, 12-13 (Summer-Fall, 1948).

See CLEMENS above.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Copeland, Fayette. "The New Orleans Press and the Reconstruction." *La. Hist. Quar.*, XXX, 149-337 (Jan., 1947).

Mobley, James William. "The Academy Movement in Louisiana." *La. Hist. Quar.*, XXX, 738-987 (July, 1947).

Kendall, John Smith. "New Orleans Newspapermen of Yesterday." *La. Hist. Quar.*, XXIX, 771-790 (July, 1946).

———. "Old-Time New Orleans Police Reporters and Reporting." *La. Hist. Quar.*, XXIX, 43-58 (Jan., 1946).

Skipper, Otis C. "'De Bow's Review' after the Civil War." *La. Hist. Quar.*, XXIX, 355-393 (April, 1946).

Smith, Henry Nash. "Buffalo Bill, Hero of the Popular Imagination." *Southwest Rev.*, XXXIII, 378-384 (Autumn, 1948).

IV. 1900-1949

[AIKEN, CONRAD] Hamalian, Leo. "Aiken's *Silent Snow*, *Secret Snow*." *Expl.*, VII, 17 (Nov., 1948).

[ALLEN, HERVEY] Siebeneck, Henry King. "Hervey Allen and Arthur St. Clair." *Western Penn. Hist. Mag.*, XXX, 73-94 (Sept.-Dec., 1947).

Charges that Allen has portrayed "an historic character untruthfully" and substantiates the charge with a thirteen-page summary of the life and character of Arthur St. Clair.

[ANDERSON, MAXWELL] Collijn, Gustaf. "Maxwell Anderson." *Bonniers Litterära Magasin* (Stockholm), IX, 689-693 (Nov., 1940).

[ANDERSON, SHERWOOD] Sutton, William A. "Sherwood Anderson: The Spanish-American War Years." *Northwest Ohio Quar.*, XX, 20-36 (Jan., 1948).

[AUDEN, W. H.] Cleophas, Sister M. "Auden's Family Ghosts (or *The Strings' Excitement*)." *Expl.*, VII, 1 (Oct., 1948).

See NOTE, p. 511 below.

[BENÉT, S. V.] Spitz, Leon. "Stephen Vincent Benet." *Am. Hebrew*, CLVII, 8, 13 (Feb. 13, 1948).

"An analysis of the Jewish material in the works of this great American poet."

[BROMFIELD, LOUIS] Bainbridge, John. "Farmer Bromfield: Famous Novelist Preaches the New Agriculture on His Malabar Farm." *Life*, XXV, 111-114, 116, 119-120, 122 (Oct. 11, 1948).

[CALDWELL, ERSKINE] Söderberg, Sten. "Nazismen och den moderna realismen: Litterär nazism." *Samtid och Framtid* (Stockholm), II, 376-379 (June-Aug., 1945).

On Caldwell, Faulkner, and Hemingway.

Raymond, Louis-Marcel. "Erskine Caldwell." *La Nouvelle Relève* (Paris), V, 497-505 (Jan., 1947).

[CATHER, WILLA] Cox, Sidney. "My Favorite Forgotten Book." *Tomorrow*, VII, 63 (June, 1948).

An appreciation of *The Song of the Lark*.

[CRANE, HART] Lundkvist, Artur. "Hart Crane." *Ord och Bild* (Stockholm), LI, 411-414 (1942).

[EBERHART, RICHARD] Eberhart, Richard. "Eberhart's *Grave Piece*." *Expl.*, VI, 23 (Feb., 1948).

———. "Eberhart's *The Young Hunter*." *Expl.*, VI, 24 (Feb., 1948).

[ELIOT, T. S.] Breit, Harvey. "An Interview with T. S. Eliot—and Excerpts from His Birthday Book." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, Nov. 21, 1948, p. 3.

Including representative selections by Edwin Muir, Kathleen Raine, G. B. Angioletti, Clive Bell, and W. H. Auden from *T. S. Eliot* (London, 1948).

Brotman, D. Bosley. "T. S. Eliot: 'The Music of Ideas.'" *Univ. Toronto Quar.*, XVII, 20-29 (Oct., 1948).

Points out analogies between certain musical forms and Eliot's *Four Quartets*, in which poem Eliot has achieved "a modern range within classical limitations."

Enebjelm, Helen. "T. S. Eliots ökenkänsla—En anglo-sachsisk företeelse." *Litteratur, Kunst, Teater* (Stockholm), (1945), pp. 11-15.

Lalou, René. "T. S. Eliot: Prix Nobel." *Les Nouvelles Littéraires* (Paris), No. 1006 (Nov. 11, 1948), p. 1.

Chiefly personal recollections.

Leyris, Pierre. "Rencontres avec T. S. Eliot." *Figaro Littéraire* (Paris), III, 1 (Nov. 13, 1948).

By the translator of many of Eliot's poems into French.

O'Connor, William Van. "Gerontion & The Dream of Gerontius." *Furioso*, III, 53-56 (Winter, 1947).

A comparison of Eliot's "Gerontion" with Cardinal Newman's "Dream of Gerontius" reveals some indebtedness but more important dissimilarities: "In Eliot the borrowing and transforming of phrases and symbols is primarily a means of extending the Christian literary tradition."

Walcutt, Charles C. "Eliot's *Whispers of Immortality*." *Expl.*, VII, II (Nov., 1948).

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Arthos, John. "Ritual and Humor in the Writing of William Faulkner." *Accent*, IX, 17-30 (Autumn, 1948).

Bowling, Lawrence. "Faulkner: Technique of *The Sound and the Fury*." *Kenyon Rev.*, X, 552-566 (Autumn, 1948).

"The comprehensive quality of the first and the last sections, as contrasted with the two middle sections, gives a good architectural balance to the structure of the novel as a whole," which has as its theme "disorder, disintegration, and the absence of perspective."

Chase, Richard. "The Stone and the Crucifixion: Faulkner's *Light in August*." *Kenyon Rev.*, X, 539-551 (Autumn, 1948).

The symbolic texture of this novel "is very much a matter of mechanics and dynamics—a poetry of physics. Repeatedly Faulkner presents appearance, event, and even character in the images of stasis, motion, velocity, sphere, emptiness, fullness, light, and dark."

Harwick, Elizabeth. "Faulkner and the South Today." *Partisan Rev.*, XV, 1130-1134 (Oct., 1948).

A review-article on *Intruder in the Dust*.

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[WINSOR, KATHLEEN] Anon. "'Forever Amber' Clearance Upheld in Massachusetts." *Pub. Weekly*, CLIV, 1813-1814 (Oct. 23, 1948).

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[WINTHER, SOPHUS] Powell, Desmond. "Sophus Winther: The Grimsen Trilogy." *Am.-Scand. Rev.*, XXXVI, 144-147 (Summer, 1948).

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Wolfe's former editor and his "official biographer" comment on facets of the novelist's literary personality.

Askew, Ruth. "The Harp of Death for Thomas Wolfe." *Southwest Rev.*, XXXIII, 348 (Autumn, 1948).

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Wolfe, whose vision of life is that of an outsider, juxtaposes in his novels the image of permanence with the image of change, and he thus dramatizes a general predicament in the United States, where the case history of educated Americans "is a record of the emotional adjustment by which two cultures—urban and rural—were more or less successfully brought to terms."

Spitz, Leon. "Was Wolfe an Anti-Semite?" *Am. Hebrew*, CLVIII, 5 (Nov. 19, 1948).

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In American writing since 1939 the best work is in literary criticism and in political and sociological essays.

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Gilbert, Katharine. "Recent Poets on Man and His Place." *Philos. Rev.*, LVI, 469-490 (Sept., 1947).

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Glicksberg, Charles I. "Literature and the Marxist Aesthetic." *Univ. Toronto Quar.*, XVIII, 76-84 (Oct., 1948).

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Howe, Irving. "The South and Current Literature." *Am. Merc.*, LXVII, 494-503 (Oct., 1948).

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Kohler, Dayton. "Time and the Modern Novel." *Eng. Jour.*, XXXVII, 331-340 (Sept., 1948).

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Mansbridge, Ronald. "By the Scholars, for the People." *SRL*, XXX, 9-10 (June 7, 1947).

University presses should extend their field, to reach not only the scholar but also the public.

Miers, Earl Schenck. "The Sauce Thickens." *SRL*, XXX, 11-12 (June 7, 1947).

University presses can be prosperous.

Menard, Edith. "Jewish Humorists of the 20's." *Am. Hebrew*, CLVI, 32, 72, 73 (April 4, 1948).

O'Connor, William Van. "The Poet as Esthetician." *Quar. Rev. Lit.*, IV, 311-318 (n. d.).

"An exposure of the epigonic elements in American letters today is perhaps one of the more serious problems to which criticism should address itself": our authors need a contemporary aestheticism.

Stafford, Jean. "The Psychological Novel." *Kenyon Rev.*, X, 214-227 (Spring, 1948).

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Stegner, Wallace. "New Climates for the Writer: A Novelist Turned Instructor Defends the University as a Place for Training." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, March 7, 1948, pp. 1, 20.

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"The only basic difference between commercial and university presses is that in the former a book . . . is normally expected to make a profit; in university press publishing it is expected by hook or crook merely to pay for itself."

V. GENERAL

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A plea for a systematic criticism, "a kind of ignorance which goes with being almost a poet."

Capers, Charlotte. "In the Mail: Letters from Dublin and Mississippi." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, Nov. 7, 1948, p. 45.

A listing of Mississippi writers and their homes: "a vital contribution is being made to American literature by this most maligned state."

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Periodicals are listed according to the following classifications:

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Commager, Henry Steele. "Super: This Must Go In! Editing the St. Nicholas Anthology." *Pub. Weekly*, CLIV, 1874-1877 (Oct. 30, 1948).

Eaton, Walter Prichard. "On Burying the Essay." *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXIV, 574-583 (Autumn, 1948).

It is a mistake to neglect the kind of personal essay that Thoreau, Charles Lamb, and John Muir wrote so well.

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Fine, Benjamin. "Education in Review: Need for Greater Study of American Literature Is Stressed in National Survey of Colleges." *N. Y. Times*, Oct. 31, 1948, sect. 4, p. 9E.

Frenz, Horst. "Georg Kaiser." *Poet Lore*, LIII, 363-369 (Winter, 1946).

The American reception of the works of the German playwright. Griffiths, Robert Lloyd, III [Secretary of the Association]. "PFLA PUBLICATIONS-OF-THE-FVRIOSO-LANGVAGE-ASSOCIATION [Vol. I, No. 1 (Winter, 1947)]." *Furioso*, III, 50-60 (Winter, 1947).

A not-quite parody which, if it is a continuing feature, students of American (and English) literature will not want to miss.

Jones, Joseph, and Atwood, E. Bagby. "Present Day English: Bibliography." *Am. Speech*, XXIII, 59-63 (Feb., 1948).

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———. "Böcker från Väster." *Bonniers Litterära Magasin* (Stockholm), IX, 28-36 (Jan., 1940); XI, 448-457 (Summer, 1942); XIII, 332-342 (April, 1944); XIV, 304-311 (April, 1947).

Chiefly brief commentary on American and other "foreign" novelists, indicating an interest in more advanced techniques and theories. Orsini, Napoleone. "American Influence in Italy." *CEA Critic*, X, 1, 4 (Oct., 1948).

The influence of American literature on Italian writers.

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Rothrock, Mary V. "Nine States Look at Their Libraries." *So. Packet*, IV, 1-3 (Oct., 1948).

A review of library needs and facilities in the South.

Simon, Jean. "Les Poètes Américains et leurs introductions français." *Les Langues Modernes*, XLII, 441-445 (Aug.-Sept.-Oct., 1948).

On anthologies of American poetry published in France.

Spivey, Herman E. "Southern Literary Culture: An Annotated Bibliography for 1947." *So. Atl. Bul.*, XIV, 1-6 (Sept., 1948).

NOTE: Because W. H. AUDEN and THOMAS MANN have become American citizens, they both now perhaps come within the province of our check list. The Bibliographer will be happy to receive from any reader with special interests in either author a listing of articles about him which have appeared in contemporary periodicals, so that our records, particularly the contemplated revision of the cumulative check list, may be complete.

24-3-62